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Turks Accused of Smuggling 'White Death'

AU1610202489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 16 Oct 89 p 4

[Article by Boris Novakov, prosecutor in the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria: "Who Is Smuggling White Death Across Bulgaria?"—all Turkish names as transliterated]

[Excerpts] The problem of drug addiction and illegal drug traffic has recently developed into a major cause of concern in various countries. The frightening expansion of drug production and the abuse of narcotics obliged the specialized agencies to adopt energetic actions in order to halt the progress of "white death." Such efforts are not only dictated by the alarming trends of the current development—namely the trend toward a constant increase of drug addicts and steady expansion of the range of drugs, the decreasing average age of drug addicts, but also the extent of organized crime involved in drug traffic.

Our country is also affected by a drug problem, but it is more related to drug traffic, than to addiction. The majority of drug addicts in our country are addicted to medical drugs. Our dealers are not involved in international traffic. In addition to effective restrictive measures adopted by the state, our drug addicts are incapable of getting involved in worldwide drug traffic for economic reasons. One gram of heroin in the FRG, for example, is sold at a price varying from DM200 to DM500 on the black market. As I already stressed, drug smuggling is the real problem in our country. [passage omitted]

We should point out that the number of Turkish citizens involved in drug smuggling is growing in recent years. The following figures confirm this fact: 2 of 7 drug smugglers caught in 1986; 6 of 15 caught in 1987, and 13 of 17 drug smugglers caught in 1989 were Turkish citizens. They usually transport heroin which they obtain from other fellow citizens in various places of the Republic of Turkey and smuggle it to Western Europe, namely to the FRG, Switzerland, and the Netherlands in the majority of cases. The drugs are hidden in various parts of a motor vehicle which is the property of the smuggler, or of some other person. In some cases the drugs are concealed in specially constructed devices which are installed in the vehicles.

On 9 May 1989, Turkish citizen Tekim Metekol was discovered by the customs control organs at the Kapitan Andreevo Border Checkpoint while smuggling 3.1 kilograms of heroin which he had placed in two specially adapted hiding places of his passenger car—in the gasoline tank and in the rear axle of the vehicle.

Imam Tunch, also a Turkish citizen, had installed a special hiding place between the rear seat and the floor of his BMW private vehicle on 18 May 1989. The Kapitan Andreevo checkpoint customs authorities discovered 13.4 kilograms of pure heroin in his vehicle.

Shikho Elmaz and Mustafa Karamustafoglu, two other Turkish citizens, had concealed 8.2 kilograms of impure heroin in the doorsills of the vehicle in which they traveled from Turkey to the FRG. On 19 May 1989 the heroin was discovered by the Kapitan Andreevo customs authorities.

Keyfo Yolad hid heroin in the gasoline tank of his private automobile. On 27 May 1989 he was discovered by the control organs at the Kapitan Andreevo Border Check Point.

The list of smugglers is long and the methods of hiding the drugs are varied, but the skill of the Bulgarian customs authorities and the modern technical methods they apply make it possible for them to prevent numerous crimes in this area. We should mention the large amount of 46.8 kilograms of heroin which was discovered at one time in the gasoline tank of Mohamed Mukhsinoglu, another Turkish citizen.

Nevertheless, the greatest success of the Bulgarian customs authorities is their well-deserved international prestige. All foreign specialists, without exception, who visited Bulgaria in connection with the struggle against drug addiction, including the delegates to the international customs conferences held in Varna, never failed to express their satisfaction with the Bulgarian customs authorities, despite the fact no drug smuggler arrested anywhere in the world has ever declared that the drugs were meant for Bulgaria. [passage omitted]

We are always ready to cooperate with any country whatsoever on problems of struggle against drug addiction and illegal drug traffic.

Pangelov Assesses Hungarian Socialist Party

AU1610170689 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Oct 89 p 4

[Boyko Pangelov commentary: "Questions Remain"]

[Text] One week ago the majority of the delegates to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] voted for the establishment of the new Hungarian Socialist Party.

The congress decisions answered many of the questions posed on the eve of that forum and related to the character, structure, and goals of the party under conditions of the forthcoming sharp election struggle with the numerous competing parties from the opposition, which constantly improve their organization. The issue of the party's name was resolved. The change expresses the aspirations of those who charge the MSZMP with the main responsibility for the difficulties in the development in recent years, in an attempt to disassociate themselves from the party and appear before the voters as a qualitatively new participant in political life. It also was decided that the party organizations will continue their activity at the places of work, thus preserving their relations with the working people. The congress also adhered to further improving cooperation within the

Warsaw Pact until the simultaneous dissolution of the two major military alliances.

On the other hand—and this is an issue that prompts commentaries not only in Hungary—the decisions adopted by the congress not only did not provide answers to many questions, but posed new ones. Thus for example, are previous agreements signed by the MSZMP still valid, especially against the background of the fact that the Socialist Party disassociates itself from the MSZMP? In Hungary this question mostly applies to the written obligations assumed by the MSZMP vis-a-vis the opposition at the so-called tripartite talks. What was the price of the various compromises reached by the various platforms, and how long will they last? Would the contradictions among the various platforms, which emerged already at the congress, cause serious difficulties in forming the party's future positions? What will happen with those MSZMP members, who will not confirm their membership in the Hungarian Socialist Party by 31 October? There are many such members. Will a new party be created (or will the MSZMP continue to exist—which will have the same effect as the establishment of a new party), and how will this fact affect the election results and the general position of the leftist forces?

It is a well-known truth that it is easier to eliminate something than to create something new. Now the Hungarian Socialist Party will have to prove with its activity the correctness of the step conducted on 7 October, which undoubtedly is one of the most important events in Hungary in recent decades.

Mladenov Meets Yugoslav, Yemen Counterparts

AU0310193489 Sofia BTA in English 1807 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] New York, October 3 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, had a meeting with Mr Budimir Loncar, federal secretary of foreign affairs of Yugoslavia.

They discussed a wide range of questions of mutual interest. It was pointed out with satisfaction that Bulgaro-Yugoslav relations are upgraded and readiness was expressed for their further activization in all fields. The importance of party and state-to-state cooperation and the usefulness of the exchange of experience in the course of the socialist construction was also underlined. Special attention was paid to the situation in the Balkans. The two sides confirmed their countries' desire to contribute to the assertion of the all-Balkan process and the strengthening of the positive trends in the region. The role of the Nonaligned Countries' Movement was emphasized. It was pointed out that the conference in Belgrade laid the beginnings of a new stage in its development under the contemporary conditions. The 44th session of the UN General Assembly was highly appreciated and assurance was expressed that the world organization will continue to assert itself in the future as a factor of primary importance in international affairs.

Mr Petur Mladenov had a meeting with Mr 'Abd al-'Aziz Muhammad al-Dali, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

It was noted that the changes in international and state-to-state relations have a favourable influence on the settlement of regional conflicts. Concern was expressed over the Middle East where the situation is still complicated and strained. It was underlined that an urgent, just and lasting solution to the complex problems of that region should be found. A review was made of bilateral relations. It was pointed out that there are possibilities for the promotion and the extension of cooperation. Information was exchanged on the processes of restructuring and innovation in the two countries.

Mladenov Meets UN's De Cuellar 3 Oct

AU0310125589 Sofia BTA in English 1123 GMT 3 Oct 89

[Text] New York, October 3 (BTA)—Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, conferred here with Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar, secretary general of the United Nations.

They exchanged views on the progress of the 44th session of the UN General Assembly and commended highly its work. It was emphasized that for the first time since the world body was established the debate at the General Assembly is being held in such constructive spirit. This gives grounds for hope that the United Nations will be increasing its contribution to the settlement of major problems facing mankind: the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security, the elimination of hot spots and the planet's global problems: economic development, environmental protection, hunger, diseases, drug abuse, etc. The secretary general of the United Nations commended highly this country's contribution to the upgrading of the UN's role and prestige.

Mr Petur Mladenov conveyed to Mr Javier Perez de Cuellar greetings from Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council.

On behalf of the Bulgarian Government, the minister of foreign affairs invited the UN secretary general to visit Bulgaria. The invitation was gratefully accepted.

Zhivkov, Atanasov Greet Lao Leaders on Treaty

AU1110082189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent a greetings message to Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's

Revolutionary Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, and Phoumi Vongvichit, acting president of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, on the 10th anniversary of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

The message points out that during the past 10 years the treaty successfully served as a solid foundation of constantly strengthening and developing cooperation between the two countries.

The Bulgarian people sincerely rejoice at the successes achieved by the Lao Communists and working people under the leadership of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party—their tested vanguard—in constantly following the road of socialist development that they have selected, the message reads.

The message expresses confidence that mutual and fraternal relations, strengthened by the treaty, will continue to develop along an ascending line for the benefit of the two peoples and in the interest of peace and socialism.

Atanasov Receives Mongolian, Indian Ambassadors

AU0610205889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Today Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Lhamin Zerendondog, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Mongolian People's Republic in Bulgaria. Georgi Atanasov also received Girish Dhume, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of India to Bulgaria. The meetings were attended by Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs.

'Tense Situation' Prevails on Domestic Markets

AU1710084889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Oct 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Accelerated Pace, Striving for High Results"]

[Text] The last quarter of the year has started. The recently reported assessment of the Council of Ministers confronts the labor collectives and management cadres at all levels with important problems. In view of the complicated situation characterized by the problems stemming from the progress of restructuring in the economic sphere and the transition to company-based organization, taking into consideration the unusual situation which emerged in some areas of our country and the migration processes connected with it, and considering the unforseen difficulties in foreign economic relations, we must admit that our economic development proceeded relatively smoothly. The workers class, the peasants, the specialists and managers honorably passed their test of civic responsibility and manifested their lofty patriotism under the given circumstances. The evident upsurge achieved over the last months is significant. Production results in July 1989 were 6.4 percent higher than in July 1988, and in August our production increased by 3.6 percent compared with July, while a special record was achieved in September, when production increased by 8.5 percent, compared with that of the previous month.

The task of producing additional output, of obtaining higher foreign exchange income, and of providing more consumer goods, and better services for the population was assigned under these circumstances. The labor collectives understood the meaning and significance of this requirement and have already created the necessary organizational prerequisites and provided the resources for obtaining additional production amounting to a value of apporximately 1,300,000 leva. Unfortunately, certain industrial complexes, such as "Heavy Machine Building," "Transportation, Agricultural, and Construction Equipment," and "Metallurgy and Mineral Raw Materials," as well as the Bulgarian Association of Recreation and Tourism are still far from achieving the indexes and requirements of Decree No. 32 issued by the Council of Ministers.

State orders and orders envisaged by the state plan on numerous important goods still remain unfulfilled. The 9-month plans for 81 articles out of 245 types of products ordered by the state and envisaged by the plan, have remained unfulfilled, while in the case of 193 articles production is 70 percent below the annual plan. In the case of 96 articles the quantities produced are below the level attained during the same period of 1988.

Despite the fact that the production of consumer goods has increased by 11.6 percent in 1989, important goods which are in great demand, such as heating equipment and electric cooking stoves, electeric boilers, cutlery, slippers, rubber goods, footwear, cottons, baby clothing, fish and fish products, milk fats, and vegetable oils, are still in short supply. The poor performance of numerous foreign trade organizations, especially related to the supply of goods from other countries, envisaged in the state plans and in the annual trade protocols, also contributes to the tense situation on the domestic market.

Under the existing conditions of a radical economic reform which is implemented in our country at the present stage, the strategy of our national economy's structural and technological renewal is particularly important. Decisions related to the implementation of this strategic task are aimed at accelerating our total economic restructuring. In his report to the Politburo of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee on certain fundamental economic problems, submitted on 13 July 1989, Comrade Todor Zhivkov pointed out that we are expected to engage in an accelerated structural renewal by guaranteeing an entire complex of prerequisites which are required for this process. The implementation of this task can be achieved through skilled economic and credit solutions, through a priority

development of foreign currency bringing productions, and of available material resources. A re-orientation of investments may also exert a decisive effect in this respect. We should not only try to reduce investments as a whole but also speed up the schedules of commissioning important projects, and projects which are likely to produce results in the foreign exchange sector and on the domestic market, in particular.

It is no secret that only limited resources are available to our economy. Along with this, it would not be exaggerated to assert that a totally unfounded nihilism has developed in our country related to the use of available resources. Now that our economic organizations and companies are preparing their programs for the forthcoming year - 1990—and, in doing so, are about to establish the foundations of their programs for the forthcoming 5-year plan period, it is particularly important that they should resolutely endorse a new approach to the effective use of raw material resources. This approach is neither new, nor unknown. It is a characteristic feature of each modern company which has at least decided to survive. As a result of this, only one conclusion should be drawn—namely that we are objectively obliged to adopt a new philosophical approach in using raw material resources and in changing the structure of their utilization.

It is particularly important today, both for the successful conclusion of the current year and for a normal development in the forthcoming year, effectively to use our labor resources. A series of government documents provided sufficient prerequisites for an optimal involvement of all categories of working people in production, industry, and agriculture. Unfortunately, many of these opportunities based on government documents are either not used at all, or applied in an incomplete manner. The unwillingness of numerous economic managers to involve additional manpower on the basis of hourly wages, piecework, or land-lease is puzzling. It is evident that some managing boards and company managers have still not realized that the reduction of an inflated administrative-management staff is not one of the numerous campaigns which we have tried, but not succeeded in implementing. In order to overcome certain disruptions on the domestic market in connection with the supply of animal products it is very important to take advantage of the opportunities created by the Council of Ministers decree on increasing the number of cows and sheep.

We should admit that the essence and meaning of this document have still not reached the peasants and have so far failed to arouse their interests. No practical deeds have been accomplished in this respect. The same conservative approach was also observed in connection with the measures adopted for the elimination, or restriction of material consuming production. As for our basic raw materials, it is essentially important today that the Committee on Material Economy and the Ministry of Planning and Economy should promptly establish and efficient system of management and coordination so that a high economic, currency, and social effect may be achieved. The requirement for constructive negotiations in the purpose of signing state-economic agreements on state orders is unjustifiably neglected.

Along with the main goal which we should achieve by the end of the year—namely the implementation of production programs and the output of additional products—our companies and economic organizations are confronted with the responsible task of preparing their plans for 1990, which is the final year of the current 5-year plan period. We should not forget even for a moment that this will be the year in which the foundations of the forthcoming 5-year plan shall be established. For this reason, precisely, 1990 should promote a decisive change in the implementation of the ideas of the party's July concept for the development of our own, Bulgarian model of socialism. The revolutionary process of economic restructuring is the basis of this model. Since this new model serves the interests of all our society, of the entire Bulgarian people, it is natural that the implementation of this model should be entrusted to all our people, and to each of us.

Steps Taken To Protect Environment

Law Review Planned

AU1010120089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Oct 89 p 1

["Decision No. 16 of 4 October 1989 on Discussing the Draft Law on Environmental Protection and Regeneration," adopted by the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria]

[Text] The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria decided on the basis of Article 93, Paragraph 5 of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and Articles 7 and 14 of the Law on People's Referendums:

1. A discussion of the draft law on environment protection and regeneration is to be conducted.

2. Proposes to the Fatherland Front National Council and the All-People's Committee on Environment Protection and Regeneration, to organize the discussion of the draft law together with the Bulgarian Trade Unions, the Dimitrov Komsomol, and the scientific and creative unions and organizations.

Proposes to RABOTNICHESKO DELO, ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME, and OTECHESTVEN FRONT to publish the draft law.

3. The discussion must begin with the publication of the draft law and end on 1 December 1989.

4. The proposals and opinions, related to the draft law, must be sent to the National Assembly Legislative Commission.

5. The Legislative Commission, together with the Commission on Environmental Protection and Regeneration must sum up and systemize the proposals and opinions made during the discussion of the draft law, and report them to the National Assembly.

T Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

N Manolov, secretary of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria;

T Tomov, head of "Chancellory" Department.

Draft Law Described

AU1010130089

[Editorial report] Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 5 October on pages 3 and 4 carries the 10,000-word "Draft Law on Environmental Protection and Regeneration."

The draft law consists of 7 chapters. The first chapter, entitled "General Provisions," contains 18 articles, and outlines the role and obligations of the government, ministries, National Assembly, and public organizations in protecting the environment in Bulgaria.

The second chapter, entitled "Protecting, Regenerating, and Improving National Resources," consists of 6 sections, which deal with the following issues: "Protecting the air;" "Protecting the waters;" "Protecting the soil;" "Protecting the environment while utilizing the riches of the earth;" "Protecting the coastal and sea environment;" and "Protecting nature, flora, and fauna." Each section lists measures to protect the environment in the specific spheres.

The third chapter, entitled "Protected Natural Areas and Objects," contains 10 articles, and lists specific areas, such as national parks and reserves, which will enjoy special protection under the new law.

The fourth chapter, entitled "Protecting and Regenerating the Environment in the Populated Settlements," consists of 8 articles. It outlines specific measures aimed at reducing industrial pollution and improving the environment in Bulgarian cities. The tasks of the municipal organs in this undertaking also are listed.

The fifth chapter, entitled "Protecting the Environment After Industrial Accidents and Calamities," consists of 5 articles, which outline the tasks of central and municipal authorities in preventing industrial accidents, or removing their consequences.

The sixth chapter, entitled "Managing Environmental Protection and Regeneration," consists of 10 articles and outlines the responsibility of the government, ministries, municipal organs, and committee on environmental protection in managing the process of environmental protection. It is pointed out that "people's referendums are to be conducted on the most important issues related to environmental protection," and that the subject of environmental protection "will be included in the study programs of all educational establishments."

The seventh chapter, entitled "Coercive Administrative Measures, and Administrative Penalties and Compensations," consists of 3 sections, and lists the specific process of establishing environmental damage, determining the responsibility, penalizing the people or enterprises responsible for each specific case of environmental pollution, and determining the compensation in each case.

The draft law ends with 3 brief sections respectively entitled "Additional Instructions," "Transitional Instructions," and "Final Instructions," which define concepts such as "air pollution," "water and soil pollution," and "dangerous substances," and list previous laws, which will be superseded by the new law.

Proposed Program Published

AU1010192789

[Editorial report] Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian on 6 October on pages 5 through 8 publishes the full text, totalling approximately 20,000 words, of a "draft national program for the protection and regeneration of the environment up to the year 2000 and in the following period," issued by the Bulgarian Council of Ministers and dated October 1989. The OTECHESTVEN FRONT text is arranged so that it can be detached as a whole and made up into a 32-page booklet. The draft document is divided into 11 unnumbered sections with headings and one final section with no heading, as follows:

—"Introduction: aims and goals of the program" (2,100 words). This section first briefly reviews environmental measures taken to date, but then states that "in recent years the country's productive forces and the rates of exploitation of natural resources have reached a level at which the mass of discharges and various toxic and dangerous substances of anthropogenic origin entering the environment exceeds the environment's restorative capacity, as a result of which acute ecological problems have arisen." Among other things, it is noted that 35.5 percent of the population breathe polluted air, 75 percent of rivers monitored are polluted in excess of the permitted maximum, and 44 percent of agricultural land are subject to degradation and erosion. The condition of the forests and natural pastures, wild life and plants is similarly alarming, and mining operations are extremely inefficient, producing 500 million tonnes of waste annually. The chief reason for this is stated to be "the previous extensive nature of the economy's development." To correct this situation, the aim of the draft program is: "to ensure ecological security and favorable living and health conditions for present and future generations, preservation of the biosphere, rational use and effective protection of nature under the conditions of the country's stable socioeconomic development."

—"Main principles and tasks of environmental production work" (3,300 words), outlining the specific targets for reducing pollution to be achieved "at the present stage" through "the territorial restructuring of the economy." Draft plans for achieving this are described in more detail in the following five sections:

—"Protecting the purity of the air" (1,000 words), detailing plans for reducing noxious atmospheric discharges from industrial plants;

—"Protecting the purity of waters" (900 words);

—"Priority solving of the ecological problems of the Black Sea and River Danube" (1,800 words);

—"Preserving the land and forests—a duty of all generations" (2,200 words), outlining measures for applying ecology in agriculture and for nature and forest protection and regeneration; and

—"Ecological problems of the territorial and settlement structure" (2,600 words), with detailed recommendations for land improvement, town planning, effluent treatment, and waste recycling both nationwide and in specific regions.

—"Ecological research and education" (1,300 words), outlining a comprehensive program for stepping up research work and improving ecological education.

—"On international cooperation in environmental protection" (1,200 words), recommending more intensive environmental cooperation within CEMA, in the Balkans, with United Nations organizations, and under the csce.

—"Protecting Bulgarian nature—a nationwide cause" (1,100 words), with recommendations aimed at stimulating the interest of all the people in nature protection.

—"Reorganizing the management of nature protection activities" (2,200 words), outlining proposed environmental measures to be taken by the state and government in the fields of planning, administration, and new legislation, including credits and tax and financial incentives for environmentally friendly activities.

—Concluding section (300 words). This section states: "The program is a preplanning document that is binding for the planning organs, state territorial organs, companies, and economic organizations. In their 5-year and annual plans, all institutions must achieve the tasks set in relation to environmental protection and regeneration." It is also stated that "the funds required to implement the direct environmental protection measures envisaged in the national program during the period from 1991 through 2000 represent about 3 percent of the national income and about 8-10 percent of the country's total capital investment."

Ecology Club Formed

AU1310203489 Sofia BTA in English 1802 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Sofia, October 13 (BTA)—A national youth club "Ecology" was founded at the CC [Central Committee] of the Young Communists League. It unites the most active young nature-protecting research workers, representatives of the young artistic and creative intelligentsia, working people, and pupils.

The club will popularizes ecological knowledge among young people and will encourage young creators to solve the ecological problems. It will organize a number of events connected with the nature protecting activity of youth and will coordinate the activities of youth ecological clubs in the country which number more than 200.

"Propaganda and Ecological Knowledge", "Research Activity", "Ecologization of the Artistic Work", "Children and Ecology" are the sections established at the national club.

CPCZ CC Environment Resolution Published

AU1610180289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Oct 89 p 2

["CPCZ Central Committee Resolution On Creating And Protecting the Environment"]

[Text] At its 15th session on 11 and 12 October 1989 the Central Committee discussed a report by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium on the party's policy on creating and protecting the environment. It thoroughly considered the current situation and carried out a review of the fulfillment of the tasks which had been established by the 17th congress for resolving ecological problems. It stressed the urgency of fundamentally improving our country's environment as one of the key issues involved in raising the citizens' standard of living. The Central Committee stated that at present the environment ranks among mankind's fundamental global problems, problems which have considerable international and internal-political significance. One of the main elements of the CPCZ's policy, which is concentrated on man's comprehensive development and on improving the quality of the conditions for his life, is the creation and protection of the environment. Its implementation, in harmony with our people's interests, is, at present, one of the vital tasks.

While fulfilling the tasks of the 17th congress, which established the task of halting the growth of atmospheric pollution and of gradually improving the overall state of the environment, some positive results have been achieved. Overall atmospheric pollution caused by solid emissions has fallen and the cleanliness of waters has improved moderately. Changes have manifested themselves positively in the fuel energy base as a result of increasing the share of nuclear energy and high-grade fuels. The decision was made to implement heat distribution and conversion to gas projects in Prague and the North Bohemia region and significant water management projects, water systems, and anti-flooding measures have been established. Modern methods and resources have begun to be implemented to protect and cultivate plants and the quality of food and food products has improved. A great deal of work was carried out in renewing forest vegetation and in recultivating land after raw materials had been extracted. In a number of towns and villages circular roads have been constructed and the modernization and reconstruction of city centers has advanced. The results achieved while implementing the National Front's election programs are also an important contribution. In a number of places there has been success in improving conditions for the population's life.

The Central Committee appreciates the suggestions and specific proposals submitted by the territorial party organs and the party primary organizations, as well as the recommendations made by the representative bodies concerning the environment—by the Federal Assembly, the Czech and Slovak National Councils, the national committees at all levels, and the political parties and organizations affiliated in the National Front. It particularly appreciates the active approach by the deputies and members of the above-mentioned organizations who, through their activity, are specifically contributing to intensifying care for the cleanliness of waters and the atmosphere, for forest vegetation and soil, for improving the working and living environment, for expanding green spaces, and for upgrading towns and cities. It positively appreciates the long-term and systematic work carried out by the Socialist Youth Union, the exemplary and meritorious activity of the members of the Union of Nature Conservationists, the hunters' and fishermens' unions, as well as gardeners and other special interest organizations.

Despite the positive results that have been achieved, a number of shortcomings still persist in the sphere of the creation and protection of the environment. Their most serious cause is the non- fulfillment of the party's and the state organs' decrees by responsible employees in the center and by leading managers in economic organizations. As a consequence of this, there has been no success in utilizing, to the required extent, the results of science and technology in practice. The planned construction of facilities for the creation and development of the environment has been delayed. Insufficient attention is paid to issues of the living and working environment in the activity of some enterprises and in the aims of their development. Even among part of the population there still persists not only a lack of interest in the environment but also they often seriously damage it by their conduct. The general public rightly criticizes the above-mentioned shortcomings. They are also becoming the subject of political speculation by various groups and individuals.

On the basis of the Presidium's report and discussions, the Central Committee regards solving the problems of the creation and protection of the environment to be a long-term process that requires using the considerable resources which society must create. It is not possible to carry out the tasks without broad theoretical knowledge, using the latest results of scientific-technical progress, advanced technology, and the necessary project, construction, and engineering capacities. It is necessary to orient activity toward research and development workplaces to implement them. In practice, it is necessary to apply this principle so that the further effective development of manufacturing forces and society's manufacturing relations is in harmony with the thorough resolution of ecological issues.

The party's policy on the creation and protection of the environment is based upon frankness and the specific nature of solving the problems. This policy proceeds from the responsibility of each citizen. It is an urgent condition that the organs of the National Front and the national committees can guarantee a public discussion of environmental issues and a thorough public review of

the implementation of the adopted measures. It is necessary to introduce unified regulations and the central organs' and national committees' rational and functional arrangement into environmental care and the well-balanced development of territory and to guarantee their coordination, high level of expertise, and competence. It is necessary to choose suitable ways of uniting the broad circle of social forces in order to resolve environmental problems and to rationally use natural resources. It is a vital task not to permit the further deterioration of the environment in the Ninth 5-Year Plan and to gradually achieve a fundamental turnaround in its quality before the year 2000.

The Central Committee demands that Communists in the federal and national governments guarantee in a responsible manner the qualitative preparation of the Ninth 5-Year Plan, that they give priority to solving problems in the most afflicted industrial conglomerations in the North Bohemia region, the Ostrava district, Prague, Bratislava, and other ecologically threatened regions in harmony with the decrees issued by the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic Governments.

It is necessary to draft a system of effective financial and economic instruments to support all the activities aimed at improving the quality of the environment and at the rational utilization of natural resources. It is necessary to draw up levies, taxes, payments for utilizing natural resources as well as strict sanctions for damaging elements of the environment. It is necessary to implement this stimulation in the form of subsidies, appropriations, prices, credits, loans, tax and customs reductions, and so on. It is necessary to improve the mechanism for planning, preparing, and implementing projects to protect the environment. It is necessary to increase the efficiency of expert appraisal while considering investments from the point of view of their influence on the environment.

In planning processes, as well as in the everyday management and organizational work of the central organs, the economic organizations, and the national committees, it is necessary to ensure the coordination of activities so that all the decisions and their implementation thoroughly respect the interests of the whole of society. It is necessary to improve cooperation among the organs of the united national economic center while drafting a state program for the development of environmental care. It is essential to make thorough provision for this by the necessary research, development, project, and suppliers' capacities as well as by the development of ecological engineering, including the necessary measuring and regulating technology. This program must effectively contribute to fulfilling the tasks contained in the state concept for the creation and protection of the environment and for the rational utilization of natural resources up to the year 2000.

The Central Committee demands that the Communists in the federal and national governments adopt fundamental measures for improving the quality of managing the creation and protection of the environment. In state administration it is necessary to create a system of management that will administer environmental care in a coordinated and integrated manner. It is essential to demarcate the activity, responsibility, and necessary authority of the organs set up by the CSSR, Czech Socialist Republic, and Slovak Socialist Republic Governments. It is essential to provide them with qualified cadres, financial resources, a research and technical-economic background, and monitoring elements. It necessary to establish a single information system on the environment, including monitoring the whole of CSSR territory. It is necessary to thoroughly adhere to socialist legality in the sphere of the environment and to strictly punish its violation at all levels of state administration and economic management. It is necessary to aim toward increasing responsibility for the state of the environment.

The Central Committee considers it to be the fundamental task of all Communists in the central organs and economic organizations to link environmental questions and their resolution to the structural changes in our economy so that, within the framework of the development and phasing out programs, they assert technological solutions that will be both economically and ecologically suitable. Parallel to this, it is necessary to reduce the energy and raw and processed material demands of production and to develop industry for the creation and protection of the environment. It is necessary to introduce effective ecological measures in industry, construction, transportation, and agriculture. It is necessary to give priority to developing the production of electricity at nuclear power stations, to eradicating delays in their construction, and at the same time, to expand their utilization for the development of heating distribution. In harmony with this, it is necessary to gradually reduce the production of energy at fossil fueled power stations and to implement the desulphurization of their emissions. It is necessary to accelerate the conversion to gas of select spheres and municipal conglomerations, to expand centralized heating supplies and to utilize fluid combustion boilers. It is essential to create the necessary economic resources for this.

Communists in economic organizations must become initiators so that an ecological program can be drafted and implemented in each enterprise and so that the fulfillment of production tasks and the enterprises' development are not at variance with the requirements of environmental protection and the rational management of natural resources, energy, raw materials, and waste. It is necessary to give priority to asserting the modernization of equipment for environmental protection, for its regular use, and maintenance. It is necessary to implement the material stimulation of the employees responsible for this.

In harmony with nationwide interests, it is the duty of Communists in the national committees to increase the authority and responsibility of these organs for comprehensive environmental care and harmonious territorial

development. It is necessary to get rid of lingering tolerance and inconsistencies in proceeding against those who do not adhere to the legal norms. In the interest of increasing the quality of the environment, it is necessary to consistently implement the instruments of territorial and area planning. It is necessary to make joint decisions on the intentions of the economic organizations who influence the environment. It is essential to assert measures so that it is economically more advantageous for each economic organization to improve the environment rather than to damage it. It is necessary to draft and implement programs on the creation and protection of the environment as an inseparable element of the National Front election programs.

Asserting positive changes in people's thinking and behavior has a vital significance for fulfilling the tasks of creating and protecting the environment. The whole sphere of spiritual life and ideological work, culture and art, all levels of schools, including the universities, the preparation of the necessary experts, propaganda, and scientific education must all contribute their endeavors to this process. It is necessary to increase the efficiency of the application of all forms of education for the benefit of the environment and also to influence the citizens' free time. It is necessary to make greater use of the mass media to clarify and resolve problems of environmental care.

The Central Committee proceeds from the conviction that the National Front's activity in environmental care will continue to develop and that the initiative of social organizations, especially of youth organizations, will increase. The party gives its full support to this. It is necessary to develop and utilize the natural interest of the majority of people in nature conservation, in good living conditions, and to give corresponding consideration to this care at all levels.

The pressing need to improve the environment is linked to health protection. The Central Committee once more emphasizes the necessity of improving the quality of preventative health care. In the most ecologically afflicted areas it is necessary to adopt concrete material and cadre measures to improve the present situation. It is necessary to increase the number of doctors and health care workers, first and foremost, those who come into first contact with the patients. It is necessary to expand rehabilitation centers and to increase capacities for spa treatment.

It is essential to create the conditions for the further development of the population's recreation and sporting activities. It is necessary to orient educational work, particularly among the younger generation, toward explaining the harmful influences of drug addiction, alcoholism, and smoking, and unrational nourishment as well as toward active prevention in their way of life. It is necessary to increase the role of hygiene services while reviewing working conditions and the state of the environment.

The Communist Party has come up with an initiative to resolve ecological problems. Therefore, an indispensable role has fallen to Communists—to stand at the forefront of the engaged struggle to develop an ecological consciousness and to increase the joint responsibility of our citizens to improve the environment. It is necessary at all levels of management to stimulate the adoption and implementation of the program measures and to organize a party and public review of this. It is necessary to make full use of the scope that the restructuring of society creates for this.

The Central Committee is convinced that its 15th session will positively influence, and in a decisive manner, the further progress of the party, the whole of society, and all citizens in resolving the pressing tasks of the creation and protection of the environment.

Jakes Speech at 11 Oct CPCZ CC Session

AU1610060189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Oct 89 pp 3, 4

["Report of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium on the Party's Activity Since the 14th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee and its Tasks Prior to the 18th CPCZ Congress," delivered by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 11 October]

[Text] We are meeting at the 15th session of the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia] Central Committee in the important pre-congress period, at the time of annual members meetings and preparations for party conferences. Our task is to assess the development and the work carried out in the party and in society since the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session and to specify the course of action of party bodies and organizations for the upcoming period.

As to the activity of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Secretariat, and commissions since the last session, it centered on the further itemization and implementation of the tasks of restructuring and democratization.

The draft of new party statutes is also being submitted to the Central Committee for consideration.

Another task of the 15th session is to assume a stand on the solution to environmental problems, which are an important social, economic, and political issue which attracts the attention of the general public. In many ways, the problems involved have a global nature and require wide-ranging international cooperation.

In the course of preparing today's session, we used information gained at the nationwide consultative meeting with leading secretaries of regional and district party committees, held on 15 and 16 September this year. The consultative meeting was useful. Open exchanges of experiences and a unification of views

regarding further party work before the 18th congress in implementing economic and social restructuring and fulfilling the tasks of socioeconomic development occurred at this meeting. It revealed unanimity of views on the fundamental issues of party policy and the determination to consistently implement resolutions adopted by the Central Committee.

Party Policy Enjoys the Support of the People

The substantial feature of the present situation in our country is that the policy of restructuring and democratization is increasingly becoming the practical concern of the widest strata of our society. After its 14th session, the party's Central Committee received further thousands of letters expressing a stand on the Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st anniversary of Victorious February as a sign of a positive and active attitude toward this policy. The celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising and of the Carpathian- Dukla operation, peace rallies, and other rallies of our citizens took place in the same spirit. The same characteristics were also displayed at a joint session of the Central Trade Union Council and the Czech and Slovak Trade Union Councils, at the national conference of chairmen of regional and district trade union councils, at the Congress of the Czechoslovak Union of Women, the national teachers' conference, and at plenary sessions of noncommunist political parties.

It is possible to say that the political situation in the country is, on the whole, stable and that the CPCZ's policy enjoys people's support. Naturally, there exist diverse ideas regarding its practical implementation. The fact is being criticized, often very sharply, that economic restructuring is not yet bringing tangible results, that various problems and shortcomings linger on. Demands are being raised that they be consistently tackled at all levels, especially in the center, even though the elimination of a number of difficulties is in the hands of work collectives and the relevant local bodies. Nevertheless, the fundamental and wholly predominant matter is the unequivocal interest in strengthening socialism and in using its advantages in such a way as to make people's lives better, secure order and peace for their work, for fulfilling tasks, so as to let us advance more quickly, and further strengthen the international standing of our state. This is all the more important as our times are not easy because a number of influences work upon people's minds, influences which are far from being always positive.

In the recent past—as you yourselves know and as you have been continuously kept informed—some actions of opposition groups occurred, supported by certain Western political forces and media. As we have said on more than one occasion, their aim is to misuse the process of restructuring and democratization as well as various difficulties and shortcomings to destabilize socialism in our country, to weaken the role of the party, and to defame its activity. They are trying to work out various opposition program platforms, the purpose of which is to incite the public and young people in particular to antisocial activity, to organize pressure and provocative actions, to disrupt peace and order. They were preparing themselves very intensively for public acts of confrontation in connection with the 21st anniversary of the August events. They did not achieve their aim. The correctness of the adopted political measures, which had the support of the overwhelming majority of our citizens, was confirmed. The same support was given to the steps which were taken in harmony with our laws in order to secure public order.

In the upcoming period, too, attempts by these groups to unfold their activity can be expected, particularly in connection with various historical anniversaries. Nor can we afford to neglect the internationalization of their activity. A novel aspect today is that they receive support not only from the West but also from various legal opposition groups operating in some socialist countries, especially the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. The activities of various groups in the USSR also exert an influence in this regard. The statements of the Polish Sejm, the Executive Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and, subsequently, of the Hungarian Parliament on the anniversary of 21 August 1968, which we have resolutely rejected, also objectively served to support antisocialist forces.

New Tasks Require New Approaches

We must overcome the idea that efforts to isolate illegal groups can be limited to the use of state power. The main way to halt their activities is to engage in effective ideological work, to conduct an offensive political struggle for people's minds. This struggle will be successful if it is conducted not only in the center, but everywhere, at all workplaces, and if its principal form is a broad dialogue between communists and citizens, in which we win them over to party policy and expose the hostile character and intentions of the opposition groups. It is necessary to realize, and take account of the fact, that the opposition forces and propaganda from abroad can make our work more difficult, which is exactly what they are trying to do in all conceivable ways. The greatest difficulties and the greatest damage, however, can be caused by ourselves if we are not going to consistently implement the course on which we have embarked, if we are going to tolerate disarray and mistakes, condone shortcomings, and fail to tackle problems which weigh heavily on the people.

It is essential that this be fully realized everywhere, also because—in spite of the formidable amount of work that has been carried out in the process of restructuring and democratization—not everything is going as well as it should. In this direction, in many places there still is a strong tendency to work in the same way as in the past, to set low demands, and to assume a liberal attitude to the nonfulfillment of tasks. This, together with comfort-seeking, lack of commitment, and the unwillingness to take up the fight for the enforcement of new things and

approaches is the principal obstacle to the implementation of adopted decisions and to quicker progress in party activity and in society at large. Restructuring has not as yet been fully understood everywhere, especially regarding the fact that everyone must work more effectively for us to maintain and gradually improve our living standards. This is also reflected in the fulfillment of social and economic tasks. Despite a certain improvement, the achieved results are not yet in harmony with our targets and our possibilities.

The approaches being used to tackle tasks and problems with which we are being confronted by life often do not conform with the new requirements. Not all of us always fully appreciate that restructuring means deep revolutionary changes, the implementation of which requires great and consistent efforts, that today again the fate of socialism is at stake as it passes through a difficult stage of its development. Therefore, we must not permit anywhere any belittling of the situation. Annual members meetings and party conferences and the entire pre-congress preparations must play an important role in making this awareness fully penetrate the entire activity of the party, its bodies and organizations, all communists. What matters is to literally galvanize the party into a high degree of activity.

International Relations Continue To Improve

As far as foreign policy is concerned, we have continued to pursue, above all, the creation of favorable external conditions for our building of socialism, for the implementation of the program of economic and social restructuring. It is possible to state that the improvement in the international atmosphere has continued. The first genuine steps toward nuclear disarmament and toward a political solution to a number of regional conflicts have been taken. Many things suggest that one phase in postwar international relations is coming to an end and another phase is beginning, one in which the new political thinking, the principle exponent of which is the Soviet Union, is making itself felt. Its aim is to move away from confrontation and the cold war toward the strengthening of confidence, security, and stability, toward understanding and cooperation. We have welcomed and we support the results of the recent talks between the USSR minister of foreign affairs and the U.S. secretary of state, which meant further progress in negotiations on a 5?-percent cut in the present number of strategic nuclear arms and produced an agreement to hold another Soviet- American summit.

A number of important problems and questions in international relations remains unclarified, however. There continues to be much in the policy of the West that is vague and unpredictable. There still exist forces which adhere to the policy of confrontation, although this policy takes a somewhat modernized, more flexible, and more differentiated shape. This shows up in the attempts to interfere in the internal developments of socialist countries and to misuse human rights and freedoms as well as in the Western effort at the ideologization [ideologizace] of mutual relations.

Our view regarding present international questions, particularly in Europe, is expressed in the documents of the Bucharest session of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee. These documents are centered around the question of disarmament. Great attention is paid in them, in particular, to the Vienna talks on conventional disarmament. We expressed ourselves to be in favor of speeding up these talks so that the first agreements can be achieved by 1990. The adopted documents also make clear our stand on the questions of nuclear and chemical disarmament as well as on the strengthening of stability, trust, and security in Europe. They express a comprehensive approach toward the all-European process in all spheres—military, political, economic, ecological, cultural, and humanitarian. We are convinced that the CPCZ Central Committee will support the conclusions of the Political Consultative Committee.

In harmony with the policy of the Warsaw Pact, we have cut the defense budget. About 20,000 soldiers are transferring from combat units to the newly established military construction organizations. Taking account of the development of the military situation in Europe, the State Defense Council has examined our possibilities and it has been decided to reduce defense spending by 10 percent in the next 5-year plan and to submit to the Federal Assembly the proposal to cut basic military service to 18 months. This will set free considerable resources—over Kcs6 billion annually—for the solution of problems of socioeconomic development.

The development of comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union is, and will continue to be, a priority and of vital importance for our country. It must be realized today that, even here, new circumstances have emerged. Developments in the Soviet Union, as Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev has repeatedly stressed of late, are not without difficulties. Various views and phenomena surface there which evoke concern among members and functionaries in our party. We express full solidarity with the immense efforts of the CPSU, its leadership, and the Soviet people in the implementation of the restructuring of Soviet society in the interest of the strengthening of socialism and its upgrading to a qualitatively new level. We wish them success in this great revolutionary undertaking. This is exceptionally important also for the further fate of socialism, not only in our country but in the whole world, too.

A few days ago our party and government delegation participated in the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, which has accomplished great successes on the path of socialist construction. They have earned the GDR general international recognition. In recent weeks the GDR has become the target of an unscrupulous campaign waged by the FRG and some other states, unleashed in connection with attempts at illegal emigration by citizens of the GDR to the FRG. The FRG Embassy in Prague, too, was misused for this

purpose. The aim of this campaign is to belittle the GDR's accomplishments and to cast doubts on its existence and place in the community of European states. These are very dangerous tendencies, tendencies which are revanchist in their essence, question the results of World War II and the present territorial arrangement in Europe, and are aimed at its destabilization.

We esteem the GDR as a tested and reliable partner, as our ally and neighbor. We resolutely condemn the campaign against it, and we express full support for GDR stands. We will continue to develop our mutual cooperation and strengthen comradely, internationalist relations with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany.

We do not claim to have any right to assess the situation in socialist countries and communist parties. It is their own affair. At the same time, however, it is necessary to give our members, citizens, the necessary information. A great interest, often accompanied by worries, is evoked in our party and in our public by the development of events in the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. In both states, processes full of contradictions are taking place; the struggle which decides the political and socioeconomic character of the further development of these friendly countries is being stepped up.

The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], in consequence of a change in the balance of political forces, has chosen the policy of national reconciliation by means of roundtable agreements. The government is now in the hands of Solidarity which, because of suspension of cooperation by the Democratic Party and the United Peasant Party with the PZPR, has a majority in both the Sejm and the Senate.

In the Polish People's Republic, we are witnessing a number of grievous crisis processes. The economy finds itself in serious trouble, a strong inflationary process is underway, and social tension is growing. It can be assumed that the changes which will take place in the internal and economic spheres can also touch upon foreign relations. From the new prime minister's statement, however, one can judge that the new government realizes the foreign political realities and intends to respect them. This concerns both the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, as well as other foreign political commitments of the Polish People's Republic with the socialist countries. We trust that the new government will duly appreciate the significance of the Czechoslovak-Polish relations and will not permit their disruption.

We Are Interested in the Development of Cooperation

As you know, at the end of September Mieczyslav Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, visited Czechoslovakia. He explained in detail the complicated situation in Poland and in the party itself. He said that the changes going on in Poland do not mean that the Polish people have rejected socialism. The birth of a new situation need not interrupt the continuity of the socialist development, provided the PZPR renews its forces and influence and regains the trust of the workers class and other working people. It has our full support in this.

The Hungarian People's Republic is going through a similarly complicated stage. Here, too, economic problems have led toward an increase in social tension. The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], too, has not been spared problems. Conflicts, a process of differentiation, and struggle for the party's future shape have taken place in it. It is not by coincidence that various forces have taken advantage of this situation to attack the foundations of socialism. They distort historical facts, conduct a campaign against the contractual obligations of the Hungarian People's Republic, and try to disrupt its relations with other socialist countries.

The most significant event of the past days in the Hungarian People's Republic has been the MSZMP Congress. The party was disbanded at the congress and a new Hungarian Socialist Party was created, which in its program statement distances itself from the principle of the leading role of the party and from democratic centralism, builds on world outlook and political tolerance, and sees its prospects in a political line which is similar to social democratic understanding. The true political image of the new party has yet to be formed. It can be expected that the processes of differentiation will continue. The split which has occurred in the MSZMP has once again confirmed the lasting validity of the Leninist thesis on the vital significance of the unity of the leadership and the Central Committee for party unity and action ability.

The relations between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic have been complicated by the unilateral halt, by Hungary, of the building of the joint Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage. We are determined to insist on the fulfillment of the agreement, and in the case of infringement, to demand compensation for the damage, in accordance with international law. The instigation of nationalism and the efforts to spread it abroad constitute a great danger. Some circles in the Hungarian People's Republic strive to misuse the question of nationalities also in relation to the CSSR.

Our attitude toward the development in the socialist states has been expressed by us clearly several times. Each of them seeks, considering its traditions and on the basis of its specific conditions, a path of its further development. We have a sincere interest in the further development and deepening of all-round cooperation with them. At the same time, the principles of socialist internationalism are and will always be valid for us. We are sympathetic toward and support those steps which are aimed at strengthening and developing socialism. At the same time, we are not indifferent toward what is directed toward the destruction of the socialist system in the friendly countries. We follow these facts attentively and we draw lessons from them. One cannot further develop socialist society without restructuring. This, however, definitely does not mean that we will clear the

positions to anti- socialist forces, that we will allow the party to lose its influence on the development of events. We will not allow anything which is in contradiction to the interests of the Czechoslovak people, our party, and the National Front to be forced upon us.

We have stressed many times that we understand restructuring as a continuation of the revolution, as the development of the legacy of Victorious February when the Czechoslovak people freely decided to follow the path of socialism. We want to implement restructuring so as to prevent disturbing social and economic stability. That is the basic prerequisite of its success. Any kind of attacks and attempts aiming to evoke tension, chaos, and social tremors can only endanger the implementation of the policy of democratization and restructuring and bring society to a crisis-ridden situation.

We are deeply convinced about the historical prospects of the socialist social system. Socialism belongs irreversibly to the face of today's, and also the future, world. We have no doubt that its restructuring on a socialist basis will give it a new quality and dynamics of development so that it can more fully show its advantages.

In the present, very complex, period which our community is going through, the need for an open exchange of views and close coordination and cooperation with individual fraternal parties and countries is coming to the foreground. This purpose was also served by the international conferences of Central Committee secretaries of fraternal parties of CEMA member countries for ideological and international issues, which were held recently in Berlin and Varna. We consider it important to have discussions, to look for ways to defend socialist values won in the past struggles and by devoted work of previous generations, and to develop and enrich these values in new conditions of development, which put new demands on us. At the same time we consider it important not to do anything which could damage the interests of others and would play into the hands of forces hostile to socialism.

The fact that we stress the responsibility of each party for the solution of problems in its own country does not mean that socialist states should weaken the effort to coordinate approaches to solving a number of questions. On the contrary, it is necessary to extend coordination, and, above all, to take care that problems in individual countries do not negatively influence the development of economic cooperation. This is why we welcome the fact that a consultative meeting of the highest party representatives of CEMA member countries is scheduled to take place this year, where primary attention will be paid to the examination of economic cooperation.

Emphasis on Firm Economic Foundations

In the further process of restructuring and democratization of society we must continue to put the main emphasis on the creation of a firm economic foundation for social restructuring. Only a sufficient creation of resources, a dynamic development of the national economy on a qualitatively new level, the deepening of the social orientation of the economy, and the creation of a wide scope for the utilization of creative forces of the people, constitutes the path toward improving their life and is a basic prerequisite for Czechoslovakia to develop as a modern and stable socialist state.

Experiences show that the conclusions adopted by the party Central Committee at its 14th session with respect to social and economic development and restructuring of the economic mechanism remain highly topical and it is necessary to implement them at all levels and in all sectors resolutely. We know that some still unresolved questions evoke conjectures, doubts, and uncertainty. The restructuring of our national economy is being implemented as we go along, which is why we must not lose time in the center or in enterprises. These issues were discussed in great detail at yesterday's session of the People's Chamber of the CSSR Federal Assembly. Party organs and organizations must be more active in enforcing that the economic and state management at all levels adopt specific programs for a responsible fulfillment of set tasks.

We are entering a decisive stage of implementing the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Experiences show that there still exist great differences in the readiness of the enterprise sphere. Economic organizations continue to spend more effort on solving organizational questions [than on solving economic problems proper]. The preparation for the new conditions of management in many enterprises is being done non comprehensively and without a program. The measures being adopted are not linked with the rationalization of intra-enterprise management and with the tackling of social and wage issues. The elimination of shortcomings in supplier-consumer relations is also proceeding slowly. The party bodies and organizations, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, and the self-management bodies must therefore demand, thoroughly and consistently, that the leading economic workers resolve all these questions more resolutely.

The founders, and especially production sectors, must pay far greater attention than hitherto to the preparedness of the enterprises for the new economic mechanism and grant them more effective assistance, especially in tackling production program changes, the concepts for their future development, the improvement of intra-enterprise management, and also in the process of creating prerequisites aimed at speeding up scientific and technical progress. In this respect we still cannot be satisfied. At the same time, it is necessary to continue to establish practical and systemic prerequisites for the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Following the critical remarks which were addressed to central bodies at the 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, work on this has intensified. This has also made it possible for the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the CSSR Government to discuss important questions concerning the routine regulation of the economy

and the strengthening of its external and internal balance. Without clarifying these issues, it would be impossible to apply the new elements of the economic mechanism next year. As for the legislative groundwork for the restructuring of the economic mechanism, it can be assumed that, by the end of this year, all the legal norms will have been passed by the Federal Assembly and all the relevant decrees or regulations essential for the functioning of the new system of management from 1 January 1990 will have been issued.

Just like the enterprise sphere, the center must adapt itself faster to the new requirements. This process has been going slowly so far. Approaches and methods of work which do not meet the changed conditions, and which could endanger the success of the restructuring of the economic mechanism itself, are surviving in the work of central bodies. At issue is to quickly determine mutual relations and the division of powers between central bodies and to clearly specify—and, first and foremost, implement—the coordinating role of the governments in developing the economy. This is a primary task for party bodies and organizations, for all communists in central bodies. Personal responsibility for this is borne mainly by the chiefs of individual bodies and institutions.

The Generation of All-Social Resources Is Improving

The best possible fulfillment of the planned tasks of socioeconomic development this year represents an indivisible and substantial condition for a successful embarkation on the new economic mechanism from the beginning of next year.

The results to date show that certain positive changes, especially in the generation of all-social resources, are taking place. However, the ways in which they are being achieved are not yet in line with the requirements of intensification.

The dynamism of the generation of national income is higher than projected by the state plan for this year. Private consumption has increased further and the meeting of the targets of the social program of the 17th CPCZ Congress has continued. Deliveries to the market have increased by more than Kcs5 billion, which has helped to ease somewhat the strains on the domestic market. The general state of supplies to the retailing network still does match actual demand, however, particularly as far as the variety and quality of consumer goods is concerned. In some parts of the country, these shortcomings are aggravated by the bulk buying of certain types of merchandise, and the spreading of a black market, by visitors from abroad, especially from the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, which is also assisted by the inappropriate exchange rates of the national currencies. The Government will adopt the appropriate measures in this regard.

Agriculture continued to operate as a stabilizing factor of the national economy. The harvest of 11 million tonnes of cereal crops—after the harvest of grain maize, we expect the harvest of grain crops to total 12 million tonnes—provides the foundation for safeguarding the food market.

In foreign trade with nonsocialist countries, foreign exchange proceeds have increased as a result of economic organizations' greater incentives. The efficiency of foreign trade exchange with socialist and nonsocialist states has improved. It must be realized, however, that the attainment of relatively favorable results in exports to nonsocialist countries are, to a considerable extent, a result of the present economic boom and the growing prices of some merchandise. Exports continue to be an important priority. This does not mean, however, that we should export at any price, at the expense of the efficiency of foreign trade exchange or at the expense of meeting the internal needs of the economy, which would inevitably lead to counter-imports. In a number of enterprises, including foreign trade enterprises, the endeavor continues to prevail to export whatever can be exported, regardless of the liquidity of the foreign partner, the needs of domestic manufacturers and the domestic market, or whether this is in accord with the export policy of the state. One cannot but describe this as a short-sighted policy and as giving priority to enterprise and local interests. The continuation of such conduct is inadmissible. Party bodies and organizations in charge of communists in the enterprises concerned must not tolerate this.

Some structural changes that are in accord with the long-term targets in reducing the proportion of energy- and material-intensive branches in industrial output are taking place in industrial production. However, the pace of these changes has so far been slow. Coal extraction has declined, on which the favorable climatic conditions late last year and early this year have had a major impact. To a lesser degree, this was due to the conservation of fuels and power. In harmony with the intentions of the plan, production in the garment, glass, ceramics, and china industries, in electrical engineering, in the paper and pulp industry, and in the food industry has been growing faster [than industrial production on average].

However, a more profound analysis of the results achieved this year makes it apparent that a number of long-term problems and shortcomings lingers on, which lower the performance of the economy and upset its equilibrium. The dynamism of the generation of material resources has been weakened by the low growth rate of industrial production, particularly in general engineering, on which the curbing of arms production has had a considerable impact. It is also a serious fact that the quality and the technological standards of production as well as innovation activity have not improved, compared with previous years.

The fulfillment of the volume indicators and of the growth output, which were in the main favorable, were not accompanied by the required growth in production efficiency. Overall and material expenditures were exceeded. An unfavorable development continued in the

sphere of stocks, especially in industry and in the construction industry. The insolvency of enterprises has been partially reduced. On the basis of stricter regulations in wage policy we succeeded in improving the relationship between the growth in labor productivity and the growth in average wages. It is a pity that this did not happen as a result of the rational behavior of enterprises and bringing order into the question of remuneration. It is precisely on the solving of these questions that managers must focus their attention and that party bodies and organizations should exercise their influence.

The completion of the draft state plan for 1990 in accordance with the new concept [of plan setting] is of principal significance for the successful restructuring of the economic mechanism. We are facing a very complex task, because the next year will have a number of specific features. On the one hand, at issue will be the broadest possible implementation of the economic levers of management and the granting of the broadest possible room for independent entrepreneurial activity. On the other hand, it will be necessary, for a certain period and to a certain extent, to implement directive levers from the center and regulatory measures. The point is that it is impossible to overlook the continuing disproportionate requirements of the enterprises and industries for additional all-social resources. Accepting these requirements would lead to prolonging extensive development and deepening the imbalance and, in its consequences, to inflationary trends and to undesirable social impacts. This would be in a sharp contrast with party policy and with the objectives of restructuring. We consider that the CPCZ Central Committee will deal in a more detailed way with the problem of the 1990 state plan and its provisions at its next session. Today, we consider it necessary to focus attention on some particularly pressing questions. At issue is, above all, the fact that despite certain positive results in the social and economic development, there still remains the problem of economic imbalance. This is reflected, above all, in demand exceeding supply on the internal market. It also affects the sphere of investment, supplies of materials and technology, and foreign trade. In their consequences, imbalanced trends weaken and directly invalidate the functioning and efficiency of economic instruments, as well as the role of material incentives. They narrow down the scope for rational decision making and entrepreneurship.

The renewal of economic balance and its strengthening constitute therefore a priority in the economic policy at present and in the nearest future. The attention of the government, the state bank, and enterprises should be constantly concentrated on this task. The faster we succeed in doing away with the shortcomings in the volume and the structure of products, work and services, the more active will be the support of the working people for the program of restructuring and democratization. One cannot renew the balance through partial measures, without a harmonized and coordinated program. We need to concentrate our forces on the spheres which will bring us effective results fast and, at the same time, we have to create the prerequisites for their permanent achievement. This demands restructuring production, progressing from needed immediate changes in the range of products in state enterprises through the reorientation of existing capacities up to changes in proportions between the departments of the heavy and processing industry, as well as within these departments, in imports, exports, and investments. It is necessary, in a differentiated manner, to support the expansion of the supply of goods which are in demand. What is being produced must correspond in quality and parameters to the needs of the buyers at home and abroad.

The restoration of economic balance must be assisted to a marked extent also by the banks' credit policy. The volume of credits must be pegged to the generated resources so as to limit the excessive demand in the economy. Credits should support efficient entrepreneurial plans, particularly in those branches and enterprises which safeguard the consumer market and thereby contribute toward increasing the supply of goods. At all levels and in all spheres we must build not only on wishes and needs, but above all on our financial capacity and generated resources. We must spend our funds as economically as possible and always remember the final effect that they should bring. The state of the economy makes it necessary to limit the excessive demand for investments and imports for production and to reduce expenditures on defense and administration in order to support the renewal and strengthening of economic balance. We must harmonize the potentials of supply with demand with the aim of laying the groundwork for economic surpluses and eliminating the lasting deficits in our economy. We must prevent waste and mismanagement in public and private consumption. The principle of socialist justice and merits must be fully respected.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium recommended that the Federal Government, in cooperation with the governments of the two republics, work out a program for a 2 or 3 year period to renew and strengthen the balance of the CSSR economy. This program will be an organic component of next year's plan, as well as of the Ninth 5- Year Plan, and it will help create the prerequisites for implementing long-term changes in the economy. The tasks of this program must be reflected in the economic plans in state and cooperative enterprises.

On the whole it needs to be said that although the conditions on which the center and the enterprise sphere will embark at the beginning of next year will be new, these will not yet be the conditions of the fully developed economic mechanism of a new type. On no account must one succumb to illusions, which continue to be quite widespread, that by introducing the new economic mechanism everything will be changed and problems will be eliminated at once. On the contrary, we are facing a very complicated process which will require a lot of patience and considerable effort.

The National Front—The Backbone of Our Political System

Of decisive importance for the successful progress of the process of restructuring and democratization—of which the party is the initiator and guarantor—is to broadly develop and intensify the activity of communists in all walks of social life and to consult people on tasks, the fulfillment of which after all depends on their initiative, creativity, and commitment. This requires the comprehensive implementation of the policy of the National Front, which is the backbone of our socialist political system. We have spoken about this question in detail more than once, also at the recent national conference of leading secretaries of district and regional party committees. Therefore, I would like to touch upon only some questions which the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium considers to be particularly relevant and urgent. Above all, it is necessary to stress yet again the need to more consistently fulfill the measures that have been adopted with a view to activating the role of the National Front and of the organizations associated in it in the formation, implementation, and review of policy. Strengthening the role of the National Front as the foundation of the socialist pluralism of views and interests is not tactics in our policy but a strategic issue. The richness of the structure of the National Front, the number of political parties and social organizations associated in it, and the varied social and interest characteristics of their members—these are a great and not yet duly appreciated advantage of our political system, an advantage which we must put to far better use at all levels. We cannot be satisfied with a number of facts. There continues to be a certain distrust of people without party affiliation and of members of other parties, which is finding its expression, above all, in the sphere of cadre policy. Adhering to this position would be politically wrong.

We must act and proceed everywhere so that party policy relies on the broadest possible social base of our society, so that it purposefully and consistently renews and strengthens the unity of the people and cohesion between the party and citizens on the basis of the socialist social system. Making decisions jointly with the people and for the people—that is the essence of our policy.

We must continue to proceed from this premise in relations with all organizations of the National Front. An invaluable role in tackling today's issues belongs, above all, to the largest organization of the National Front, the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, which is also coming up to its annual members meetings and conferences. It is necessary to devote great attention to their preparation in terms of their content and cadre issues as well as to their course as an important part of the pre-congress campaign. We deem it correct to stress again that the basic mission of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement is care for the working people and the protection of their legitimate needs and interests. This mission must be developed and strengthened further. At the same time, it must be linked with encouraging the activity and initiative of the people, with socialist competition tied up firmly with the effort to intensify the national economy, with the consistent introduction of the economic reform, with the acceleration of scientific and technical development, and with the growth of the efficiency, quality, and cost-effectiveness of production.

Specific tasks, tasks to which we must give effective support, are confronted also by the Czechoslovak cooperative movement, which has entered a new stage of development. In particular, the preparation of the 11th National Congress of United Agricultural Cooperatives, which will be held at the beginning of December this year, requires the increased attention of party bodies and organizations. We attach great importance to the congress. We are convinced that it will give a major boost to the consistent implementation of the new economic mechanism in the agriculture-food complex, to deepening democracy within cooperatives, and to the further development of our socialist agriculture in the interest of the successful fulfillment of tasks in meeting the needs of our population and our entire national economy.

A permanent part of our policy is to consistently strengthen mutual relations between the party and our young generation, which represents an important social force. Nothing can be neglected in preparing our young generation for life and work in the socialist society. This requires the linking, in a more considered way, of ideological influence on the youth and of its education with acquiring practical experiences in all spheres of social life, especially with charging young people with specific tasks and with widening their share in the running of the economy and public affairs. It requires us not to be afraid of entering into an open dialogue with them, including questions which we do not necessarily like, but to which young people are seeking answers. It is necessary to realize fully that if young people do not get these answers from us, they will try to get them from other sources, from sources which are often hostile.

Communists in the Socialist Union of Youth [SSM] must contribute with greater initiative and more decisively toward the activation of the SSM and its influence on our young generation. A national SSM conference will take place in November this year. There is a need to do everything to make it another important step in increasing the active participation of the young generation in implementing the program of economic and social restructuring, in fulfilling social and economic tasks.

We attribute great importance to the relationship with the noncommunist parties which are part of the National Front. Our party, drawing on historical experiences gained in the course of the entire period of building socialism, again formulated its relationship to them at the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, as a relationship of alliance which arises from the common policy of the National Front and is based on mutual trust, openness, and sincere cooperation. An integral part of these bonds of alliance is an

increase in the share of these parties' responsibility for the further development of socialism—among other things also through raising their most able, politically and professionally prepared members to responsible posts in the national committees, in our state and economic apparatus, and in diplomatic services. Naturally, this also fully applies to relations with citizens without party affiliation and to the assertion of their talents in leading posts in the National Front, in state and economic bodies, in all walks of social life.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed in September issues of cooperation with other political parties affiliated in the National Front. At a recent meeting with their leading representatives, it was confirmed again that these parties welcomed the document on the activation of the National Front and that they recognize the role of the Communist Party in our society and want to participate actively also in future in implementing the program of economic and social restructuring.

If we are stressing the necessity of relying, within the framework of the National Front, on as wide a social and public base as possible, then there is also a need to highlight the fundamental significance of our policy on nationalities. This is an immensely sensitive area, in which one must not commit anything imprudent. The current results of solving the nationality issue in our country, on the basis of the federative arrangement, demonstrate that we are following the correct path. We must resolutely prevent and ward off everything that could irritate and disturb nationality relations and stir up nationalistic feelings. The basis of our party's nationality policy is respect for the specificity and identity of each nation and nationality and support for their development and full assertion, together with the reinforcement of unity and cooperation, of all that unites us. It is on fraternity and equality of our nations and on respect for and securing of the rights and freedoms of each nationality that we base the unity of our state.

The unification of citizens in creative work for the benefit of the socialist society is also the aim of our policy in relation to believers and religious organizations. It is not permissible in our country to discriminate in any way against any citizen because of his religious convictions or to divide society into believers and nonbelievers. This is fully guaranteed by our constitution and laws. One must adhere to them. This fact is appreciated by an overwhelming majority of believers, and this is expressed in their active work and civic attitudes for the benefit of the socialist homeland. We also hold in esteem those clergymen who are active as public figures and who contribute also to international negotiations aimed at strengthening peace and developing cooperation between states and peoples.

The appropriate state organs are discussing the problems that do occur with representatives of the churches and there is bilateral interest in solving them. This can be noted also with regard to relations with the Roman Catholic Church, where there has been progress in negotiations with the Vatican on filling the posts in dioceses with bishops and in tackling other issues. At the same time we do not overlook the fact that there exist certain forces that would like to misuse religion against the socialist social order, to incite believers into confrontational attitudes, and to bring to life political clericalism. Naturally, we cannot, and will not, tolerate this. Our religious policy must be, as we have stressed many times before, principled but at the same time flexible. A sensitive attitude toward the believers and the churches, however, does not mean relaxing world outlook education and propaganda; on the contrary, their significance is growing.

Party Organization Into the Forefront of Social Movement

Before each congress, and this cannot be otherwise now, during the revolutionary restructuring, the party devotes increased attention to improving its internal life, its entire activity.

Important and pressing tasks in this direction were set by the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee. We stressed there that in the activity of party bodies and organizations it is necessary to do away with all that breeds stagnation, passivity, and administrative approaches and to develop their role as organs of political guidance. It needs to be repeated once again that the implementation of economic and social restructuring and the enhancement of the party's leading role and of its natural prestige depend on the consistent restructuring of the party's work. This is the most important and the most sensitive issue of our policy today. From this proceeds the main requirement that party bodies and organizations must not lag behind social movement, but that they must be in its forefront and lead it in the right direction. This is precisely where the annual members meetings and the party conferences should play their role. They must be accompanied by specific steps aimed at activating and mobilizing the forces of the whole party, at strengthening its unity and action ability and at enhancing its unity with the broadest possible strata of people in the interest of thoroughly fulfilling the tasks of restructuring. An important function of the communists' annual meetings is to provide an objective evaluation of the political situation and of the influence and prestige of party organizations in enterprises, places, districts, and regions and to determine what should be done on the basis of this evaluation.

The point is that the annual members meetings and party conferences should be characterized by a democratic, critical, and self-critical atmosphere; that they should be held in a creative and strictly working spirit; that they should focus in particular on today's tasks and problems; and that they should not diverge deep into the past or into the distant future and thereby neglect what needs to be done right now, at the present time.

So far, annual members meetings have been held in roughly one-quarter of primary organizations. In other words, the crucial part of them will be held after the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee. Their course so far shows that the broad party aktiv has been involved in their preparation. Greater use is being made of the comments, views, and suggestions of labor collectives, social organizations, and individual citizens. In a number of primary organizations the contents of the deliberations and the adopted conclusions satisfy the requirements formulated at the ninth session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The annual members meetings of these organizations have been marked by a businesslike, critical, and demanding approach to both the evaluation of work carried out and to the assignment of further tasks to communists.

At the same time, however, there are quite a lot of primary organizations in which the contents of the submitted reports and of the adopted resolutions remained unchanged. They failed to deal in a profound way with acute problems and with ways of solving them as well as with where the further attention of communists and of the entire party organization must be directed in order to meet the tasks of economic and social restructuring. The correct methods of political work in the sphere of economic policy, too, have been scarcely reflected in the reports and adopted resolutions. Not everywhere do primary organizations assess in an exacting way how they influence work initiative, the acceleration of scientific and technical development, the preparation for work under new economic conditions, and the fulfillment of socioeconomic tasks this year and next year. At many places there is also more talk about objective difficulties than about their own problems proper. Not all organizations with more than 15 members have applied the principle of the secret ballot in electing their party committee.

In the preparation of annual members meetings, we ascribed great importance to the use of findings from the interviews with party members and candidate members which preceded them. It is apparent, however, that a number of primary party organizations have failed to rely on the results of these interviews and that they have not been projected into the contents and the resolutions of annual members meetings. At the same time it needs to be said that many of these interviews did not live up to their mission, as they did not show up in the needed growth of communists' activity.

District and regional party committees must evaluate the course of annual members meetings in a demanding manner, use findings and experiences from them in their managerial work, and assist primary organizations. They must attend, in particular, to the high standard of the contents of annual deliberations. They must also pay greater attention to the participation of communists in them, which has so far been lower than in previous years. Likewise, it is necessary to see to it that workers more often express their stand, experiences, and proposals at annual members meetings.

The Criterion—A Healthy Political Atmosphere

Our party has more than 1.7 million members and candidate members. This is a great force. The results of the annual members meetings and conferences should first and foremost set the party into active and effective motion. The point is that communists should be true fighters for the party's policy. We cannot ignore the fact that there are people in the party ranks who have become too comfortable, who are not fulfilling their duty to wage a struggle to implement the party's decisions, who are dodging party functions, and are introducing into the life of organizations hesitance, doubts, and sometimes even a defeatist mood.

The main thing, the thing which is at issue, is to strengthen in the whole party the conviction about the correctness of the policy of restructuring and the spirit of high exactingness and responsibility and, at the same time, as discussed at previous sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, to look after the formation of correct personal and comradely relations between party members, to enhance communist cohesion. The cohesion of communists—the fact that they can reliably lean on one another—has always been one of the party's main weapons and an important factor in its ability to take action.

Quantitative considerations alone—how many meetings or other undertakings were held, how many people participated in indoctrination classes, and so forth—can never be in the forefront of party work, even though they, too, are important. The main issue at annual members meetings and party conferences must be their contents, the openness of discussion, the constructiveness of approaches, and the effectiveness of the conclusions and measures adopted. The criterion of the political influence of party policy, and of the support it enjoys, are good results in the economy and in other sectors and a healthy political atmosphere.

At the annual meetings we must set specific tasks for the members and candidate members, set dates for fulfilling them, and ways of checking this fulfillment. It is necessary to overcome the lack of specific targeting of adopted conclusions and to promote the method of rendering account for one's actions. Each communist has, naturally, the right and duty to criticize the errors and shortcomings of higher bodies. However, at the same time, he must start with himself, with the way he himself works, with his work place and his organization.

Accelerating the process of restructuring in the party's work requires first and foremost the full development of internal party democracy and collective approach and the creation of an environment in which each member and candidate member will know that the success of the party's policy, the success of restructuring, depends on his own proposals, views and actions. It is in this that annual members meetings and conferences should represent a significant step forward.

The course which we embarked upon does not rely on orders, on supplanting state, economic, and social bodies, but on implementing political guidance, on an active, creative approach by party bodies, on the openness of policy, on constructive criticism and self- criticism, and on extensive public access to information and public control. At the same time, the criticism of supplanting [of state and economic bodies by party organizations] must not be confused with the party renouncing responsibility for a healthy development of the socialist state and the socialist society, or the idea that it will keep silent about shortcomings that are to be found in individual sectors. One must not think that the party will cease to look after the fulfillment of the national economic plan, the situation in supplies, the work of transportation, health care, or the education system, the situation in the cultural sphere, and so on. What must be changed is to cease making decisions for the relevant organs and leading officials and to see to it that they are aware of their role and duties, that they use the powers and jurisdiction entrusted to them, and that they also bear personal responsibility for this.

The CPCZ's Strength Lies in Its Bonds With Workers, Farmers, and the Intelligentsia

Annual meetings must critically assess the issues of strengthening and improving the quality of party ranks. In August the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the "Report on the Development of the Membership Base in 1988 and in the Period Since the 17th CPCZ Congress." The material was sent to the CPCZ district and regional committees for use.

What has this analysis revealed? The rate at which party ranks are being replenished has been declining in recent years. Nonetheless, the number of party members continues to increase; the growth rate for 1988 was 0.2 percent. However, this year the number of party members and candidate members decreased. A worrying trend is the declining proportion of workers in the membership base. The number of admitted candidates for party membership is declining.

The problems which occur must not be passively taken note of, particularly as far as the workers are concerned. Our party has been, and is, above all, the party of the workers class. This character must be continually strengthened. This demands a strengthening of the unity of the party with the workers class. It is necessary to heed the opinions of workers in assessing important questions and in decisions about them. Our attention cannot weaken with regard to the cooperative farmers either. Nor must one forget that the party's strength has always been in the presence of foremost members of the creative intelligentsia in its ranks. The role of the creative intelligentsia in the scientific-technical sphere and in cultural and spiritual life as such is growing exceptionally at present. One must engage in systematic political work with members of the intelligentsia and high requirements must be laid on communists in the arts unions and other organizations so that they contribute, in an active and involved manner, to the ideological struggle that is being waged by the party in the current complicated period.

In further shaping the party ranks we must naturally see to their corresponding social and age composition. In the current period, however, the party must accept in its ranks, regardless of age and social affiliation, all those who are genuinely and frankly interested in membership, who demonstrate at their workplaces and in their public and social activity that they are willing, and able, to defend and enforce the policy of the party and to accept responsibility, including those who lost party membership in the wake of the years of crisis and who, by their activities, actively support party policy.

Work with already admitted party members and candidate members must be improved in principle. Attention must also be paid to the preparation and training of the young generation of functionaries. It is necessary to realize that older, experienced office holders who successfully came through the trials of political struggles will increasingly be retiring from active work in the years to come. A good and timely preparation of new functionaries is the key prerequisite of the party's healthy development in the future.

It is also necessary to realize everywhere that a policy which ignores basic moral norms cannot be correct. This means that the personal, moral qualities of communists, above all of those in leading posts, play a great role in political life. In our ranks, tens of thousands of officials are working honestly, officials who set an example by their personal and moral qualities. However, we still come across antisocial behavior, manifestations of misusing posts, and instances of corruption, without the party organs and organizations always drawing the appropriate conclusions from this, as required by the "Letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on Deepening the Effectiveness of the Struggle Against the Violation of the Principles of Socialist Legality, Ethics, and Discipline" from the year 1983. This must be changed. This is a question of principle. One must realize that precisely this is what reduces most of all the authority of the party in the eyes of the public, as well as trust in it. Our opponents also count on this in their calculations. Communists have always gained authority when people recognized them for their political maturity, courage, good organization, and personal dedication, for their exemplary work and private lives.

At the same time we must reject resolutely attacks on honest party functionaries and all kinds of rumors about alleged privileges enjoyed by communists which various demagogues—self-styled revivalists of socialism and genuine representative of restructuring—are trying to spread.

It is appropriate, in view of the new quality of tasks, that great attention has been devoted to the cadre preparation of annual meetings. The quality of the comrades elected to the committees of primary organizations and to

district and regional bodies will determine, to a great extent, the success of our joint work in the period to come. The course of annual members meetings so far shows the turnover of roughly 30 percent of members of primary organizations' committees. The turnover rate among the chairmen of primary organizations is similar. It has to be stressed again that the decisive criterion of changes in party committees is whether they strengthen them in terms of cadres and whether workers, women, and young people are adequately represented.

A demanding selection of candidates for district and regional party conferences must also be in the forefront of attention at annual members meetings. The course and the results of the conferences will depend on the quality of these delegates. In this process, it is necessary to heed to it that the selection of delegates reflects the social composition of the organization concerned and that it satisfies the requirements of the present period.

Discussion on the Drafts of Congress Documents

As has already been said, we submit to today's session of the Central Committee for consideration the draft new statutes of the CPCZ. In drawing them up we proceeded from the basic requirements which the present revolutionary stage sets on the quality of party guidance—that the statutes correspond to the new conditions of party work, that they are in accord with the present contents of its activity, and that they assist in the creation of prerequisites for the application of its vanguard role in the fulfillment of the tasks of restructuring and democratization.

The submitted draft takes from the existing statutes that which has been proven useful in the life, construction, and activity of the party. As far as the proposed changes are concerned, in a nutshell they can be characterized as follows:

It is being proposed, in view of the circumstance that the principles of the CPCZ Program are being prepared, that the introductory part of the statutes, the centerpiece of which lies in the formulation of the CPCZ's character and of the main aims of its policy, be substantially reduced in length.

The proposed changes aim, in principle, at a broad democratization in the internal life and work of the party, with a view to making the party set an example, by the arrangement of its internal relations, for the whole society.

Emphasis is put on deepening the collective character of the leadership and on enhancing the initiative, independence, and responsibility of all elements of the party structure, and of the primary party organizations in particular, in the implementation of the line and decisions of the party. It is also being proposed that the organization of internal party and public discussions on important party documents and decisions be laid down in the statutes.

The recommended changes render more realistic the demands on party members and candidate members. At the same time, they should enhance the significance of party membership and the role of communists as political fighters and organizers as well as their responsibility for the goings on and the fulfillment of tasks in their organization, at their workplace, and the place of residence.

Further democratization of cadre work and provisions for a healthy turnover among cadres in leading party functions are also aimed at. In this connection a time limit (a maximum of 10 years) is being set for work in the same post and organ for the relevant leading functionaries, from the district committee level up to the CPCZ Central Committee.

The draft also sets out the republican arrangement of the party construction. This does not mean a federalization of the party. It gives to both republican party organs the same status, powers, and duties. Their activity is being formulated in such a way that it does not weaken the integrating role of the CPCZ Central Committee as the supreme party organ between party congresses. The draft recommends that the standing and sphere of influence of party committees in state enterprises be codified as a new element in the structure of the party.

The draft new statutes specify in a fundamental way the principles of the party guidance of state, economic, and social organs and organizations. The draft proceeds from the requirement that the application of the leading role of the party is to have an exclusively political character, an integral part of which is openness of policy, extensive public access to information, and public control. The amendments accentuate the unifying and coordinating role of the party, with emphasis on the independent, committed, and responsible activity of all elements of the political system. It is being emphasized that party bodies and organizations must not supplant their role and mission.

On balance, the proposed changes aim at the organizational strengthening of the party, its unity, and action ability.

We had submitted to you and, through district and regional party committees, also to selected party bodies and institutions the draft statutes as discussed by the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, requesting your standpoint. The comments and suggestions that have been made testify to the great attention which you have paid to this basic party document. Most of them concentrate on the introductory part of the statutes, the frequency of district committee sessions, the holding of regional and district conferences, the method of elections to party bodies, and some questions of the party structure.

All the comments will be examined and utilized, together with proposals from today's session of our Central Committee, in the finalization of the draft of the statutes. We

recommend that the CPCZ Central Committee Commission for Drafting the New Party Statutes be entrusted with formulating the draft's final wording and that this draft be published by the end of October, so that every party organ, primary organizations, and all communists can acquaint themselves with the draft as soon as possible and, after studying it, can voice their comments, views, and suggestions.

An all-party discussion will be organized on the draft statutes—this is an expression of the party's collective character and of internal party democracy. This discussion will last until the end of February 1990. Despite the fact that this is an internal party discussion we do not shut ourselves off from suggestions and comments from social and special interest organizations, working collectives, and individuals from the ranks of nonparty members who want to contribute to the discussion with their constructive views. We see the possibility of them voicing their views as the implementation of the principle of openness in our policy and as the implementation of extensive public access to information.

We expect that the discussion on the draft statutes will bring not only a wealth of thoughts, which will all have to be made use of, but that it will, first and foremost, contribute to enhancing the unity of party ranks and to further invigorating the whole party.

In line with the instruction of the Central Committee, work is in progress on the preparation of the draft principles of the CPCZ Program and on the main directions of the economic and social development for the Ninth 5-Year Plan, with an outlook up to the year 2005. We reckon that the discussion of these documents will take place at the next session of CPCZ Central Committee at the end of this year.

A public discussion on the draft principles of the CPCZ Program and on the main directions of economic and social development will take place in the period December 1989-February 1990. We want our citizens to openly voice their stances, to bring in their proposals and recommendations. We also want the discussion of the drafts of congress documents to be linked with resolving the tasks and problems in workplaces and localities and, also, with a deep elucidation of the party's policy, so that people will understand what is at issue and what needs to be done. A discussion on the draft of the new CSSR Constitution is planned for the period after the 18th CPCZ congress.

Broad participation by the people in the internal party and public discussions represents an expression of the development of socialist democracy. It will make it possible to better verify our party's future policy and to consider comprehensively the interests and needs of all strata of society. In all walks of life we must strive for the pre-congress period to be characterized by a high degree of political, economic, and ideological activity. An exceptionally important role is played by the mass media. They should help to ensure that there is lively public discussion and, at the same time, help shape a healthy political and working atmosphere, as well as commitment, without which the materialization of the goals we have set ourselves is scarcely possible.

It arises from the submitted report that in the near future we will be confronted with the following main tasks:

First: To ensure good preparation for the 18th party congress. This requires that everything be done so that the annual membership meetings and the party conferences fulfill their mission, and that the communists' activity grows. To draw up in good time, and in a responsible manner, the congress documents, to discuss them democratically in an internal party and public debate, and to use the acquired findings and experiences in finalizing them.

Second: To successfully fulfill the tasks of the plan of socioeconomic development for this year, and to responsibly ensure the preparation and fulfillment of economic plans for the year 1990, and, in an indivisible unity with this, to begin taking effective steps toward achieving economic balance.

Third: To ensure both in the center and in the enterprise sphere consistent fulfillment of the political, economic, cadre, and legislative tasks connected with the preparation of the new economic mechanism and with its introduction on 1 January 1990.

Fourth: To develop extensive political-organizational and ideological work aimed at elucidating our policy; to conduct a broad dialogue with the people; and to win them over for the fulfillment of the set tasks. Communists must be in the lead of social and work initiative. This requires invigorating the party, its bodies and organizations, and all members and candidate members; increasing their combat spirit; and tackling the tasks we are facing with a firm belief in our own abilities.

Our party possesses rich revolutionary traditions. It withstood with honor the complex tests of socialist construction. Successes followed always when it was guided by creative Marxism-Leninism, when it relied on the workers class and the people, and when it shared their problems. It is with this creed and lesson that we are entering the next period, the period of preparations for the 18th congress of our party.

Report on Johanes' 4 Oct UNGA Speech

AU1010130989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Oct 89 p 5

[CTK report: "Jaromir Johanes' Speech to UN General Assembly Session; Together For a Secure World"]

[Text] **New York—Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, spoke in the general debate at the 44th session of the UN General Assembly in New York on Wednesday [4 October]. In his speech he said, among other things:**

In the present nuclear space age international relations must be built more than ever before on profoundly moral and ethical principles. In the year of the 200th anniversary of the Great French Revolution, upon whose legacy the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia is linked and which it significantly enriched, we are recalling not only the ideals of enlightenment, but also the humanistic message of the continuers of the great feat of man's liberation; of those who saw on tommorow's horizon an international community, in which the simple laws of morals and justice, by which mutual relations among people should abide, will become ther highest laws valid among nations.

Some important aspects of the present developments justify our hope that these noble ideas will be fulfilled. There has been success in improving the international atmosphere and in reducing the risk of nuclear war. The former mistrust and suspicion are easing up. First concrete results have been achieved in the sphere of nuclear disarmament.

The comprehension of the need to jointly approach the solution of acute global problems of mankind has been deepening. The recent Soviet-American talks in Wyoming have yielded new stimuli in that respect.

The role of the Nonaligned Movement is increasing. The conclusions of its ninth summit conference in Belgrade are an important contribution to a peaceful development of international relations.

The survival of human civilization under conditions of nuclear threat with the ever greater interlinkage and interdependence of states regardless of their social system, requires of everyone a new look and nontraditional approach which proceeds from the priority of all human values, from the philosophy of the new political thinking.

We are optimists, but we are viewing the international situation realistically. It remains complex. Not everybody is already now capable of accepting the idea of a world without nuclear weapons and violence. **There still survive confrontational attitudes, the doctrine of nuclear intimidation is being justified. Elements of pressure persist, as well as attempts to lecture others.**

Today political, military, economic, ecological, and humanitarian problems are interconnected to such an extent that we can resolve them only jointly and comprehensively. Therefore, Czechoslovakia has become the coauthor of the initative of the socialist countries, aimed at applying comprehensive approach to the issues of international peace and security. Only common security serves the interests of all. Disarmament, development, and the environment are becoming its organic part. It is strengthened by a comprehensive collaboration of states in the political sphere, in the economy, culture, science, and technology, as well by the development of interhuman contacts and in the sphere of human rights. In this we proceed from strictly respecting the UN Charter, the Helsinki Final Act, and other international norms.

For European Security

Czechoslovakia has become one of the first victims of the expansion of German fascism, which unleashed the second world war 50 years ago. We have drawn a lasting lesson from this greatest tragedy in mankind's history. **Any attempt to change the postwar arrangement on the European continent, and cast in doubt the existing political and territorial realities is incompatible with the Helsinki Final Act and could have dangerous consequences for peace and stability in Europe.** And not only in Europe. Only with a common effort can we prevent the repetion of the horrors of war.

The European continent plays an important role in the effort for a peaceful arrangement of the world. On the European continent there are two biggest military-political groupings, two important integrated entities. The developments here are directed toward deepening favorable trends in international relations. The Vienna Final Document, the establishment of relations between CEMA and the EC, the talks on conventinal disarmament and on security-building measures, the dialogue within the framework of the humanitarian dimension of the Helsinki process—all this is the evidence of the great possibilities of cooperation among the European states. Jan Amos Comenius, the great Czech humanitarian, whose 400th anniversary of birth we will commemorate in 1992, wrote: "The best proof of human greatness is the work of man's hands, of his intellect. When leaders of nations comprehend this, there will be no wars." We believe that the time of that comprehension has arrived. We believe that the inhabitants of our old continent will be capable of creating it their common home, based on the multifacettedness of social and economic systems, on respect for the existing territorial and political realities, and the sovereignty and right of every nation to freely decided its destiny.

Such development, above all, requires reducing the strength of the conventional armed forces from the Atlantic to the Urals, gradually removing weapons of mass destructiion, strengthening the political functions of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, and deepening general trust on the continent. This is clearly expressed in the conclusions of this year's session of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest.

We are striving for the military potential of the CSCE participant states to correspond to the need of reasonable sufficiency and for their armies to have defensive character. **The proposals of the Warsaw Pact and the NATO's steps to meet them halfway are a suitable basis for further talks in Vienna. We hope that the first agreement, with goodwill on both sides, could be signed on the highest level as early as next year.**

It is urgent to begin separate talks on tactical nuclear weapons. There should be a stage-by-stage solution, and the objective of the first stage of the talks should be to achieve the reduction to equal collective limits on both sides. In this connection we recall the proposal of the

CSSR and the GDR Governments of May 1987 to establish a corridor without nuclear weapons in central Europe.

Similarly like the other Warsaw Pact states, we have undertaken extensive unilateral measures to reduce the number of soldiers in combat units by 12,000 men, we are decommissioning and scrapping 850 tanks, 165 armored personnel carriers, and 51 military aircraft. We are reducing the production of military hardware by 16 percent this year. Next year it already will be no less than 25 percent, and this development will continue. In the 1989-90 period, we will reduce the defense expenditure by 15 percent. We are also contemplating reducing the length of the basic military service.

In the interest of strengthening trust and security, we are prepared to deepen the Stockholm agreements and mutually adopt a new generation of information, monitoring, and limiting measures in all branches of the armed forces.

The initiative aimed at establishing a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact states and NATO, submitted by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, is our concrete contribution to a more secure and peaceful world, to the construction of the common European home. We want to support new trends in the relations between the two military-political groupings, seek and make use of everything that unites us.

In the political sphere we propose a regular and comprehensive dialogue among parliaments, governments, political parties, social organizations, and nongovernmental institutions. We also are interested in the adoption of measures to further strengthen trust beyond the framework of the Stockholm document, for example, "diluting" the troops' contingents stationed in the proposed zone. We also want to assist dynamic development of economic relations and create the necessary prerequisites for new forms of cooperation. We are paying great attention to the ecological part of the initiative. We are striving for the creation of a system and mechanism of multilateral cooperation to maintain the quality of the atmosphere, water, and the natural wealth which we share with our neighbors. In the humanitarian sphere, too, we want to create favorable conditions for getting to know one another and for understanding.

Disarmament Must Be Irreversible

In our policy we proceed from the assumption that disarmament is one of the priority tasks of the current epoch.

After the conclusion of the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of the shorter- and intermediate-range missiles, in the realization of which also Czechoslovakia was involved, the world sighed with relief. However, to make the process of disarmament irreversible quite a few resolute steps still have to be taken. First of all, it will be necessary to successfully conclude the talks on the 50-percent reduction of strategic tactical weapons. We also proceed from the fact that the treaty on the limitation of antimissile defense must be observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

The progress achieved in the Soviet-American talks on the limitation and halting the tests of nuclear weapons, about which you have been informed from this rostrum, creates good prerequisites for resolving this key issue. We appreciate the preparedness of the USSR to renew the moratorium on the tests of nuclear weapons. We hope that the United States will respond positively to it.

The strengthening of the regimen of the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is urgently needed. Halting, and in the future also banning, the production of fission materials for military purposes and preventing the spread of military missile technology would help achieving this objective. The strengthening of the treaty's regimen would significantly contribute to respecting the existing nuclear-free zones and to creating new ones. A reliable ensurance of the protection of civilian nuclear facilities against an attack remains an important task.

Particular attention must be paid to the finalization of the treaty on the complete and universal ban of chemical weapons and the liquidation of their stockpiles, as called for by the this year's conference in Paris and the recent talks in Canberra. We welcome the fact that a few days ago the Soviet Union and the United States submitted proposals here, the realization of which would mean an important shift in the direction of the elimination of those barbarian weapons.

In the course of this year Czechoslovakia has exerted a stepped-up endeavor aimed at supporting this objective, which also is attested to by the CSSR Government declaration of January this year. We have carried out a national experiment of the check of the nonproduction of chemical weapons by the Czechoslovak civilian peroduction sector [sentence as published]. We also have prepared its international stage. We have confirmed that our country posseses no chemical weapons, and that none are stationed on our territory, and last August we published the relevant data on our chemical industry. Our joint proposals with the GDR of 1985-88 to establish a zone without chemical weapons in central Europe, a matter which could contribute to the conclusion of a worldwide agreement, still maintain their importance.

We also favor the acceleration of the talks on the prevention of an arms race in space and on the program for practical actions to make peaceful use of space. There is no doubt that time is ripe for working out an international system for the verification of nonstationing weapons in space, and for establishing a world space monitoring agency.

We favor concrete assessment of the proposal for "open skies," which we consider to be one of the roads toward the further development of measures to strengthen trust

and security. Complementing it by "open land, sea, and space" would lead to the establishment of a global system of comprehensive openness. One of the first positive results of the process of genuine disarmament also is the gradual conversion of a part of military production to civilian purposes. **We have worked out a national plan for the utilization of the capacities vacated [as the result of the reduced] production of military hardware. We support the idea that the aforementioned problem becomes the subject of international consultations—also in the United Nations.**

Eliminating Hotbeds of Tension

Settling conflicts with political instruments on a just foundation is the necessary prerequiste for ensuring peace, security, and fruitful cooperation throughout the world. We believe that further progress will be made in the elimination of protracted hotbeds of tension. Experience shows that the United Nations can significantly help with this.

The signing of agreements in New York last December has created realistic prerequistes for resolving the conflict in southern Africa. **The CSSR, too, has sent observers in the UNAVEM corps in Angola and the UNTAG peace-keeping forces in Namibia. By this it documents its full support for Namibia's transition to independence.** The pressure of the international community on the Republic of South Africa must not slacken. The special session of the UN general assembly in December this year will certainly be a suitable opportunity to this. Apartheid must be eliminated.

We appreciate the UN share to date in mediating the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan. Of course, after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops it is necessary to implement also the other stipulations of those agreements, and thus create favorable conditions for the political solution to the situation and for the policy of national reconciliation. The United Nations should play an active role in this. **We fully support the proposals of the Government of Afghanistan aimed at those objectives.**

The complex situation in the Middle East region requires a speedy convocation of an international conference under the UN aegis. This also is attested to by the course of the general debate to date. The key to the solution of the conflict is the recogntion of the balance of interests, the respect for the legitimate rights of all participating sides, and the freedom to choose their development. The uprising in the occupied territory is a telling evidence of the will of the Palestinian people, which can no longer be ignored. **The PLO's realistic line has our broad support.**

We are expressing the hope that the final peaceful and just solution to the Iran-Iraq conflict will be found.

The withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops is a significant step toward the settlement of the Cambodian question. We favor the policy of national reconciliation, which will create the foundation for an independent, neutral, and nonaligned Cambodia. An early resumption of the talks on the peaceful future of that country, which were initiated in Paris, might be of help to this.

The DPRK proposals to begin constructive dialogue between North and South to strengthen understanding and peace on the Korean peninsula have our full support.

We welcome the initiative of the five Central American countries aimed at a peaceful solution of the situation in that region. The constructive policy of the Government of Nicaragua deserves particular appreciation. We regard the consistent implementation of the Tela agreements and the involvement of the United Nations to be the path leading to the settlement of the problem. The sponsorship of the meeting of leading representatives of 8 Cypriot political parties in Prague last May was the **manifestation of CSSR's active assistance to the peaceful solution of the Cyprus question.**

We welcome the talks between the countries on the Horn of Africa and the new initiative by the popular sheng of Ethiopia [lidoveho senga Etiopie] focused on the peaceful development of that country.

Restructuring in the CSSR

We have embarked upon the path of profound social changes in our country. We are realizing restructuring and democratization of all spheres of society's life with the objective of further strengthening and perfecting socialism, making full use of its humanistic potential. In this we draw on the experience of the USSR and the other socialist countries. **The demanding task we have given ourselves is to carry out restructuring with all its complexity in such a way as to preclude disturbing social and economic stability.**

We are genuinely interested in a just and economically efficient society with an economy based on advanced science and technology; in a society with a high standard of living, firm social security, and profoundly democratic system, which makes it possible for everyone to make use of his individual abilities in harmony with social interests. We proceed from the fact that socialism is founded on people's lively and creative activity.

Restructuring builds on what we achieved in the past, on the progressive and democratic traditions of the people of our country. It relies on our bonds of alliance, it is oriented toward strengthening trust and cooperation not only with our neighbors, but also with other states.

The changes now under way in the socialist states create favorable conditions for the transition of international cooperation onto a qualitatively new level.

Economy and Environment

This also fully applies to the international economic relations, the further development of which must be based on a constistently equal platform, on platforms of nondiscrimination and mutual advantageousness.

The present state of affairs is not favorable by far. In the world economy there exist many serious problems, and some are even intensifying. The imbalance and the concern for the further development continue. The gap between the developed and developing countries continues to widen. The indebtedness of the developing world has already reached a critical point.

The United Nations can significantly help alleviate and solve these acute problems. The favorable political climate should become concretely projected also into the international economic relations. The special session of the UN general assembly slated for April 1990 and the new UN's strategy for international development for the next decade must play an important role here. We are prepared to take all the necessary steps.

The protection of the environment is one of the most important global problems of the present day world. The nature and human wisdom must be one. This can only be ensured through the broadest possible collaboration of all of us. We are determined to take an active part in this effort on the world, regional, and subregional level.

As early as at the 43d session of the UN general assebly last year, we submitted, together with the Ukrainian SSR, a draft resolution in the sphere of environmental protection. This year's proposal for intensifying cooperation when monitoring, assessing, and forecasting ecological dangers and assistance in case of such accidents includes the results of consultations with many countries. It proceeds from the fact that the awareness of the real risk of unforeseeable situations in the environment, which can disturb not only the safety of individual countries, but even imperil the very existence of mankind, has been increasing.

The working out of a set of principles governing the ecological conduct of states should become an important contribution of the second UN conference on the environment and development, which will be held in 1992. We fully support its convocation.

Solution of ecological issues is the objective of a proposal by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, on the basis of which a conference of members of governments responsible for that sphere in the CSSR and in all six neighboring countries was held in Prague this year. The conference also was attended by representatives of the EC, and of the UN Commission for Europe and CEMA. The adopted memorandum enshrines the principles for intensifying international cooperation, which the participants in the conference intend to further concretize. At an opportune time we would like to hold a meeting of the premiers of the participant countries in our capital. We expect that the upcoming meeting on environmental protection in Sofia will yield concrete results and will help to develop the so much needed cooperation in Europe.

Thanks to the joint effort in recent years, it has been succeeded in taking a number of concrete steps from confrontation to a dialogue in the extensive sphere of **humanitarian issues and human rights.** The growing UN role in that respect is also being affirmed by the planned accord on children's rights. This year's session of the UN General Assembly should carry this important initiative of the Polish People's Republic through to its successful end.

The status of man and his position in society is coming more and more into the center of attention in world politics. The pan-European process has introduced a new concept into international practice—the human dimension. We are of the opinion that it is essential to gradually give a universal character to its fulfillment.

The struggle against drugs and narcotics has become critically urgent. We are prepared to actively contribute to this struggle.

Within the framework of adopting **practical and effective measures to halt international terrorism**, together with Great Britain, both at the United Nations and in the ICAO [International Civil Aviation Association], the CSSR has come up with an initiative for drafting an international treaty which would make it impossible to abuse plastic explosives for terrorist purposes. We are pleased with the support which the UN Security Council, the ICAO Council, and many member states have shown for this idea. We are prepared to cooperate with all countries in the interest of achieving concrete results as quickly as possible.

Using Positive Changes

Dealing with difficult tasks confronts us all. Many processes which not so long ago took place within the dimensions of national borders today have an international character. They influence the life of each individual country as well as our entire community. If we manage to orient these processes correctly we can realistically guarantee not only mankind's survival but also its prosperity. **The United Nations itself plays an irreplaceable role in stimulating and coordinating this effort**. It is essential to make use of the chances that the positive changes under way in today's world, as well as the growing understanding of human coexistence, offer us. We are convinced that the United Nations will fulfill its historic mission. Of course, for this it requires a matter-of-fact and constructive dialogue and, most of all, it requires the member states' political will to actively utilize all their possibilities. Therefore, let us avoid confrontation and fruitless disputes here. Let us even more consistently look for what unites us and not for what divides us. Let us orient ourselves toward solving the problems that affect the lives and well being of all people. Just as today states possess the means of mutual extermination they also have at their disposal enough potential to fulfill the universally valid ideas of peace, understanding, and cooperation.

Czechoslovakia is prepared to expend all its efforts in ensuring that they make use of this unique opportunity for the benefit of all mankind.

Daily Criticizes Kohl's Book Fair Speech

AU1610134289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 89 p 7

[Jan Kovarik commentary: "Kohl In The Role Of Instructor"]

[Text] Bonn (From our own correspondent)—At the opening of the book fair in Frankfurt am Main, Chancellor Kohl of West Germany made a speech which it is impossible to characterize other than as an attempt to make use of current antisocialist hysteria in the FRG and to arrogate to himself the role of instructor to the East European nations and states.

While awarding the West German booksellers' "peace prize," worth DM25,000, to a Czechoslovak dissident, he delivered a speech which was not concerned with either books or the book fair. He aimed substantially higher: the "German question" as well as the situation in "Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe" lay close to his heart.

He said that "Poland has very encouragingly set out upon a road of greater freedom and more human rights, and Hungary is preparing to follow. And, therefore, it is more than just a mere dream that, one day, the wind of freedom will blow in Czechoslovakia and elsewhere—to say nothing of it blowing for our fellow countrymen in the GDR."

In this connection, he carried out "self-criticism," as he literally called it, and posed the question, "whether we (that is, we West Germans) have not grown too self-indulgent with all this unprecedented well-being and have not succumbed to passivity." He said that "many people in our country have reconciled themselves to the current situation," and he very unequivocally appealed to his fellow countrymen that "where there is freedom, human rights, and self-determination, it is not only a right but a direct obligation 'to interfere in internal affairs.'" Kohl himself put the words on interference in inverted commas.

According to the Federal Chancellor, the current changes under way in socialist states are apparently providing a historical chance to implement human rights for all Europeans, a statement with which he undoubtedly wanted to make it absolutely clear that he is the one making the decisions on what are human rights and whether there is freedom or not in a particular state. He "justified" such unconcealed attacks on neighboring states by saying that the West does not have the right to deny "neighbors in the east and southeast" access to a free Western society.

It is hard to believe, at a time when relations between East and West are improving, that Bonn is coming up with this strange concept for building a common European home. Raising interference in internal affairs to some kind of right which anyone anywhere can take up, regardless of what kind of order he has at home, is at harsh variance not only with the Helsinki Final Act (against which, nevertheless, Kohl and his CDU [Christian Democratic Union] party, then in opposition, adopted a stance) but also against the documents from the pan-European follow-up meetings, documents which Kohl's government also adopted and drew up.

In the recent past, exhortations could be heard from Bonn not to undertake anything that could damage the successfully developing process of detente. A few months have gone by and, on a wave of anticommunism and, in places, chauvinism, attitudes are beginning to return to the Rhine which we had been convinced belonged to the past.

HSP's Platform 'Abandons' Marxism-Leninism

AU1610141389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Oct p 6

[Kveta Benesova commentary: "Practical Deeds Will Decide; On the Program Statement of the Hungarian Socialist Party"]

[Text] The congress at which the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] was founded ended on Tuesday night [10 October] with the adoption of a program statement in Budapest. It did not come into being in a political vacuum. It identifies itself with the just dissolved Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], and even though it struck the term "workers" out of its name, it identifies itself—as we read in the congress' documents—with its best progressive traditions.

It is still far too early to assess the nature of the events we have witnessed in recent days, and on which RUDE PRAVO reported extensively. In order to assess political parties, programs are not of such decisive importance as deeds, as practical policy. Any single practical deed means more than many words of political proclamations.

The fact is that the dissolution of the MSZMP was not explicitly mentioned in the—announced in advance—agenda of this extraordinary congress of the Hungarian Communists. However, the report about the proclamation of the HSP did not strike any of our readers as a bolt from the blue. Long before the congress some Hungarian representatives were hinting that they were contemplating forming a different political party which, in their opinion, would not be burdened by the legacy of its predecessor. The MSZMP was often quite irreconcilably fired upon from all barrels, and before the congress, as the saying goes, not a stitch on it remained dry.

In the 70-year history of the party which represents the interests of the Hungarian workers class, its name was changed several times. The original Communist Party of Hungary was renamed after it merged with the Social Democratic Party in 1948 as the Hungarian Workers Party and then, during the days of the well-known political crisis in the fall 1956, the MSZMP was founded.

However, the founding of the HSP cannot be explained only by renaming, only by a change in wording. This would be an obvious simplification. At the congress in

Budapest it resounded that what is involved is a party that has "less in common with the communist parties in the European socialist countries, and more with the West European socialist parties, but it is not a copy of them."

Immediately after the congress we can judge all the qualitative changes of the new political party only according to a few documents and according to the tendencies expressed in numerous interviews and individual statements, which are ofter very contradicting. As it has already been said, sooner or later these words will be weighed on the scales of concrete political actions, according to the direction in which both the HSP and the Hungarian society develop, whether in the direction of the consolidation of social progress or the other way round.

When pondering the emergence of a new party on the Hungarian political scene we cannot ignore the fact that such a strategic decision was decided by a body of delegates, of which almost 88 percent were attending a congress for the first time. Only somewhat more than 3 percent of the delegates represented workers, who are an important political force in Hungarian society.

However, one thing is certain: The important thing will be how attractive the HSP is going to be to workers in industry and agriculture, how it will be able to express and assert their interests. The attractiveness and authority it might gain involves quite a new category of member—"the supporting party member"—on which one obviously counts for the needs of an election campaign.

At the congress and afterward we read and heard more than once that the HSP identifies itself with the legacy of its predecessor.

The documents with which we have had the opportunity to acquaint ourselves so far state that the HSP "pursues the synthesis of lasting fundamental socialist and communist values" and that the "spiritual roots are returning to the Marxist ideological system." They stress that the HSP remains a component of the progressive and democratic forces.

However, to tell the truth, the new party identifies itself mostly critically with the legacy of the MSZMP. What is involved here in particular is the historical chapter of the international communist movement and the Hungarian revolutionary movement connected with "Stalinism," with J. V. Stalin's activity, with his concerete period and the attitudes, methods, and systems of that time. According to what has been published, the HSP is abandoning not only democratic centralism, that is, the principle of the subordination of lower components to higher components of the party structure, the electability from below up, but also the ideological platform of Marxism-Leninism, for which it is substituting the tolerance of an apolitical weltanschuung [svetonazorova apoliticka] and it sees prospects for itself in a political line similar to social democratic perception.

In any case, life will be the best test of the binding nature of these intentions. The HSP's true political face is undoubtedly only beginning to take shape and the differentiation processes within it will continue.

The congress paid very little attention to the everyday realities, to bread and butter business, and to the country's economic situation. Apart from the many critical looks at the past, it actually did not provide any composite program for the future, above all any economic program for the country or solutions to the present crisis. For example, it is very important to show the way various forms of ownership will develop when competing with each other, what support will be given, now and in the future, to the basic form of ownership in a socialist society—the social and cooperative ownership of the means of production.

The congress, which was prisoner to many political emotions, could not possibly answer all the questions asked by a Hungarian Communist, a Hungarian working person, or a friend of people's Hungary who lives abroad. Many questions remained open and unanswered. The HPS leadership and its membership base, which has only just begun to form, face many practical issues concerning the base and the superstructure of social development, the development of the party and society, of socialism on the Hungarian soil.

An immediate post-congress reflection can hardly give an exhausting answer to our Czechoslovak reader. However, one thing is certain even now: that the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] is not indifferent to the fate of the progressive forces in the Hungarian society, its leftist, socialist forces; every deed of theirs, every step of theirs that benefits the Hungarian people or the specific road of Hungarian socialism will have our party's sympathy and support. This clear and sincere stance is also expressed in the words of the telegram sent on Tuesday [10 October] by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, to HSP Chairman Rezso Nyers, congratulating him on his election. This stance is also expressedin the report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium delivered at the 15th CPCZ Central Committee session in the part that speaks about our position on the developments in other socialist countries. It said: "Our attitude toward the development in the socialist states has been expressed by us clearly several times. Each of them seeks, considering its traditions and on the basis of its specific conditions, a path of its further development. We have a sincere interest in the further development and deepening of all-round cooperation with them. At the same time, the principles of socialist internationalism are and always will be valid for us."

As neighbors and allies of the Hungarian People's Republic we express the conviction that the traditional mutual relations between our parties and countries will be maintained and will be developing for the benefit of good neighborly relations, friendship, socialism, and peace.

Jakes Recieves Seibt-Led SED Delegation

AU1610172789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Prague (z)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, received Kurt Seibt, chairman of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Auditing Commission, in Prague on Friday [13 October].

In a comradely talk the two party representatives exchanged views on topical tasks of their parties in the period of preparations for the 18th CPCZ and the 12th SED Congresses, which will be held in May next year.

Milos Jakes briefed his guest on the conclusions of the just finished session of the CPCZ Central Committee. He paid attention to restructuring in the party's life, as well as to some aspects of domestic and foreign policy. He expressed appreciation for the usefulness of the stay of the delegation of the SED Central Auditing Commission in our country and favored the development of relations and cooperation between the two parties in all spheres of social interest.

Kurt Seibt gave a positive assessment of the exchange of experience with the Czechoslovak partners and the findings from his visits to various institutions. He spoke about the current developments in the GDR and their international contexts, and in this connection valued the CSSR's position on relations between the CPCZ and the SED, and between the CSSR and the GDR, which was expressed at the CPCZ Central Committee session.

The talk was attended by Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission, and Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR. X X X

During their working stay in the CSSR, the guests from the GDR acquainted themselves with the CPCZ's control and auditing activity when it comes to ensuring the resolution of the 17th pary congress. In addition to Prague, they visited Hradec Kralove, Chrudim, and Rakovnik, where they held discussions with representatives of the party, state, and economic bodies and organizations.

The delegation departed from the CSSR on Friday [13 October]. Jaroslav Hajn saw the delegation off at Ruzyne Airport.

Rioting GDR Soccer Fans Evicted Before Match

AU1010152589

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 29 September on page 8 carries a 1,000-word "ban"-signed article entitled "Two Are Waiting for the Draw; Hansa Rostock Fans Did Not Make it to the Bazaly Soccer Field." The article reviews participation by Czechoslovak soccer clubs in the second-leg European Cup matches played on 27 September.

Commenting on the match between Banik Ostrava and Hansa Rostock played on the "Bazaly" soccer field in Ostrava, the author says: "The fans of Hansa Rostock who were supposed to be present were not to be found among the spectators. The 'soccer express' did arrive in Ostrava but, according to the CTK correspondent, many of its passengers were in high spirits. When they had passed through Pardubice, they had provoked a conflict at the railway station. After its arrival in Ostrava, the fate of the large group was decided with the Banik and Hansa representatives' participation. Because the group traveled with a joint travel document, it was impossible to send the drunkards home and let the sober ones watch the match. Packed lunches that had been prepared for the return journey were therefore delivered to the train and, despite certain problems caused by the pulling of emergency brakes, the soccer express left Ostrava at 1728. The Hansa Rostock chairman expressed his disagreement with this move, pointing out that dozens of decent Hansa fans and young soccer players who had received the trip to Ostrava as a reward were made to bear the consequences for the undisciplined participants in the tour."

Knotek Meets Cuban Minister President Bachs

AU1610161689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Ivan Knotek, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee, received Ernesto Melendez Bachs, minister president of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation of the Republic of Cuba, in Prague on Friday [13 October]. During a talk, they assessed as positive the results achieved in the development of comprehensive relations between their fraternal countries and evaluated the possibility of intensifying them further. It was underscored that the comprehensive political and economic relations between the two fraternal countries are successfully developing. Ivan Knotek briefed his guest on some topical issues connected with the implementation of the conclusions of the seventh CPCZ Central Committee session on the restructuring of the economic mechanism, and on the preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress.

The working meeting was attended by Jaromir Zak, CSSR deputy premier, and Mario Rodriguez Martinez, ambassador of the Republic Cuba to the CSSR.

Slovak Aluminium Works Deal With Brazil Firm

AU0910142089 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Oct 89 p 2

["(MN)"-signed report in the "News, Current Affairs, and Information" column: "Toward Rio de Janeiro"]

[Text] Four years ago electrode material was exported from the SNP Plant in Ziar nad Hronom to far off Brazil. The Agencia Maritine EMT LTDA company was extremely satisfied with the quality of this product.

Recently, a new order came into the Ziar aluminum works from Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, the marketing employees, along with Kerametal Bratislava, concluded an economic agreement according to which the SNP Plant will supply 3,000 tonnes of electrode tar-coking [smolnokoksova] material, worth Kcs13,100,000 freight prepaid, to Brazil. The first third of the order has already been exported; the material will be transported to Rio de Janeiro by ship from the Polish port of Gdansk. The SNP Plant in Ziar nad Hronom will supply the other 2,000 tonnes of the material to its Brazilian customer in November and January 1990.

People's Chamber Hears State Enterprise Law Report

LD1010102889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Excerpt] The People's Chamber of the Federal Assembly is in session in Prague today. Roman Zamboch reports from the meeting:

Deputies are today evaluating the application of the law on the state enterprise and its impact on the development of the national economy. The proceedings opened at 0900 and are being attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec; and other representatives of Czechoslovakia's public life.

The opening report was delivered by Vladimir Vedra, chairman of the People's Chamber. He said that the meeting of the chamber had been preceded by 37 fact-finding visits to the new state enterprises by deputies. Deputies inquired about experiences gathered from the applicaiton of the new law, to which they want to draw the government's attention, as well as to devote their own attention. Comrade Vedra briefed those attending the meeting about the conclusions of the inquiry. Individual provisions of the law are proving themselves in practice despite the fact they are being introduced in various enterprises with varying degress of intensity. Great attention is being devoted to the elections of managing directors and self-management bodies, while the essense of the intended changes—the seeking of new ways of improving efficiency and effectiveness of production and faster innovation—remain in the background. The fact-finding visits show that some founders of the enterprises were not discharging their role in relations to the state enterprises, either by continuing to insist on administrative-directive management or, on the contrary, by not concerning themselves with the enterprise and by not monitoring whether its production is in line with the requirements of our society. Deputies also encountered .ews on the need to make some amendments to the law on state enterprises. [passage omitted]

Copy-Cat Hijacking Attempt Thwarted 13 Sep

AU1110092489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Oct 89 p 2

[CTK report: "The Perpetrators of an Unsuccessful Hijack Are Detained"]

[Text] Banska Bystrica—The timely intervention by the security forces in Banska Bystrica on 13 September 1989 prevented the further preparation of a serious criminal act by two 17-year-old culprits. The youths, S. R. and L. S., agreed that they would leave the CSSR and that in order to do so they would hijack an aircraft from Prague. Their inspiration had been the hijacking of a MALEV airliner by the two young culprits, Dusan Styk and Stefan Macicko, on 28 March 1989 from Ruzyne Airport in Prague to the FRG.

Both youths had made preparations for the hijacking, had attempted to gain information about Ruzyne Airport, and had outlined the route of their journey to Prague from Banska Bystrica, a route which they had traced on a map. S. R. had taken the keys to his father's car. L. S. had a knife in his pocket and S. R. had a Japanese weapon, the so-called throwing star [nuncak]. They had intended to acquire an efficient firearm. While planning the seizure of the aircraft in Prague, they had divided up their tasks in advance, had reckoned on taking hostages, and were convinced that, with the aid of their firearms in particular, they would have to succeed in their effort. At the moment when they should have obtained their firearms, taken the car, and made their way to Prague, the culprits were detained by the National Security Corps organs. The motives for both culprits' flight abroad were distorted ideas about a new life in the West, motives acquired by regularly watching the Western mass media. The fact that the youthful perpetrators of the aircraft hijacking to the FRG were not extradited to the CSSR also played a role in this.

Cost to State of Black Currency Market Viewed

AU1110114989

[Editorial report] Prague HALO SOBOTA in Czech No. 40, the weekend supplement of Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech of 7 October, carries on its pages 1 and 3 a 2,600-word article by Nada Adamickova and Igor Sirota entitled "How We Open the Doors to Prague." The article discusses the prospects and problems of the development of tourism in the Czechoslovak capital.

The authors discuss, in particular, the shortage of hotel beds, catering establishments, attractive cultural programs, and other tourism-related services. They note that Prague has 11,500 hotel beds at present, which, according to experts' estimates, is a "deficit" of between 10,000 and 20,000 beds. Under a "generous" hotel building program whose implementation has already started, the number of hotel beds is to increase to 20,000 by the year 2000. In this connection the authors note the existence of some "open" problems, such as the question whether it is wise to build mostly luxury hotels "which are inaccessible to our citizens and some for.gners" or the controversial siting of some of these hotels in the historical parts of Prague (Little Quarter, Old Town, or Hradcany). According to the authors, the "hotel program has divided Prague," with the opponents of this program

arguing that Prague should invest in "more essential" projects and warning against the "sellout" of the capital.

Speaking about the development of tourism in Czechoslovakia in general, the authors say that the CSSR's income from tourism in freely convertible currencies "is the lowest of all CEMA countries" and has only recently started to increase. In 1985, Czechoslovakia reportedly gained $65 million from tourism, in 1988 $142 million, and in 1995 it hopes to gain $500 million. While discussing income from tourism, the authors mention that the "Czechoslovak state loses an estimated $150 million annually" as a result of illegal money changing by tourists.

Seminar on Establishing Joint Enterprises Held

AU1110145589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Oct 89 p 1

[CTK report: "The Need For a Single Concept; Seminar on the Founding of Joint Enterprises in the CSSR"]

[Text] Prague—A seminar on the establishment and activity of joint enterprises in the CSSR with foreign capital participation took place in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Secretariat in Prague yesterday. Ivan Knotek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and secretary, Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, other CPCZ Central Committee representatives, and representatives from the Federal and Czech Governments, other organs, and organizations also participated in the seminar.

In his opening speech, Ivan Knotek emphasized that joint enterprises with foreign capital participation are one of the forms of the international division of labor. The restructuring of the economic mechanism creates conditions for their development. He appraised development to date in their establishment and activity. Among other things, he mentioned that the basis for this continues to be our orientation toward the CEMA countries, of course, while making a resolute attempt to improve the quality of cooperation to date. However, we are also interested in developing economic ties with non-socialist states; both the preparations for a single EC market and the present unbalanced development in some socialist countries have led us into this. In this connection, he underlined the necessity for strict professionalism and moral values from the Czechoslovak specialists who have to guarantee the mutual expediency of joint enterprise. It is impossible to forget that some foreign partners not only show a sincere interest in cooperation, but also attempt to assert speculative courses of action. Therefore, it is necessary to pay increased attention to the choice of foreign participants for the joint enterprises, just as foreign companies carefully select partners from the CSSR.

Jan Sterba, CSSR minister for foreign trade, spoke about the first information gained from founding joint enterprises in our country. He remarked that, to date, 50 such enterprises have been established and that due note is being taken of the many suggestions for the founding of others. So far, 41 enterprises have made contact with the CSSR Ministry of Foreign Trade to discuss their foreign commercial activity. Of these, nine were founded with organizations from socialist countries and 32 with companies from non-socialist countries. The first experiences from their establishment indicate that the objectivity of the assumed results of their activity is not always scrutinized in a sufficiently demanding way. The Czechoslovak participants, while preparing their objectives and making provision for the activity of the joint enterprises, do not assert emphatically enough the interests of the Czechoslovak national economy and they often only see a short-term solution to the problem of insufficient foreign currency, the approach to imports, and so on in their development.

Jaroslav Jakubec, chairman of the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry, referred to some of the problems of joint enterprises from the point of view of their legal arrangement, and of economic and other issues. He stated that, although the law on enterprises with foreign capital participation represents an expedient arrangement for joint ventures, in practice a number of situations are arising in which the enterprise must respect many other regulations. In this connection, he highlighted the need for a single Czechoslovak concept for joint enterprises.

During the discussion, the leading economic employees from joint and state enterprises spoke about political, economic, and legal approaches toward founding joint enterprises with foreign capital participation and, first and foremost, about their experiences from this practice to date.

In conclusion, Frantisek Hanus appraised the suggestions which had arisen out of the seminar. He emphasized that the restructuring of the economic mechanism is also opening the way for new forms of enterprise. At the same time, the development of joint enterprises with foreign capital participation must be organically linked to the development of the whole of our economy. The goal is to increase efficiency, quality, the productivity of labor, the better assertion of our products in foreign markets, and, last but not least, to enhance the domestic market.

'Tens of Thousands' Demonstrate in Leipzig

LD1610192789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1855 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—Following peace prayers in five churches in Leipzig, tens of thousands of citizens of the fair city and from the Leipzig Bezirk and from neighboring territories gathered on Monday [16 October] for a demonstration. It is thanks to the reticence of the security forces and of the forces of order deployed that there were no excesses.

Reporter Observes Protest

LD1610185189 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1705 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] A report from Leipzig on the present situation has just reached us. The report is by Manfred Hoffmann.

[Hoffmann] Of course I would prefer to say to you, a normal Monday, hectic shopping in the city center, and of course a church service in the Nikolai Church; however, it is crowded around the church, on the way to it from the Ritterstrasse or (?Grimmersche Strasse), and it is also loud. It would certainly be unreliable to give numbers, because you can hardly distinguish between those who are curious onlookers and those who have consciously come here. Several have also waved to us—I assess that simply as assent to our station and our media, which have recently arisen in public discussion. Up to a few minutes ago I would have said it is calm here, with a few qualifications, but at the moment there is chanting; you will surely be able to hear it—"Allow 'New Forum';" "Gorby, Gorby"—but also chants such as: "We're staying here." The point still remains for me of course, that in order to live here with each other we must talk to each other in a rational way.

I experienced rounds of talks on questions which move us all, such as media policy, freedom to travel, all of it printed here and also broadcast by us. However, I also heard how some—luckily only a few—shouted down such dialogue. Yes, and I also saw some who made their attitude known with that (?movement of the hands) which has been seen in the past days flickering over the ARD and ZDF television screens, when it was a matter of signalling that the people believed they had achieved that which they called freedom.

(?Although) one is a neutral reporter, one is also in the first instance a citizen of our country, and one would like answers to be found to many of the questions involved, which always have socialism as their reference point. There have been many rounds of talks in the past days on this, and in this connection I would have liked to have seen more of the leaflet in the crowd that was distributed here, and which is really a signal to speak peacefully with one another.

We have been presented with time for dialogue and for finding paths—this is a sentence from the (?priests' theological college,) which was printed today in the papers. I hope that it is this evening a sign of calm and levelheadedness.

Vienna TV Report

AU1610200589 Vienna Television Service in German 1830 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Helmut Brandstaetter telephone report from Leipzig]

[Text] [Moderator] Shortly before our evening program began, we received reports of a mass demonstration in Leipzig. Our correspondent Helmut Brandstaetter, who is currently in Leipzig, is on the line. Good evening, Mr Brandstaetter. How many demonstrators have taken to the street this evening?

[Brandstaetter] Whether there are 70,000 as there were last Monday [9 October], or whether there are fewer or more, is impossible to say at this point. Anyway, the Leipzig city center is crammed with people. It began during the traditional peace prayers which now take place in as many as five churches. For about 1 and ½ hours they have been marching on the six-lane Ringstrasse. The groups of people who are lining the street applaud.

The slogans that are on the streamers and are chanted are always the same: Freedom of travel; freedom of the press; Gorby, Gorby; no violence; admit the New Forum. The New Forum is an opposition group that is not officially recognized by the state. However, this demonstration which, by the way, is also illegal has for the first time been covered live by Leipzig Radio.

[Moderator] What is the police reaction?

[Brandstaetter] Entirely differently than it was several weeks ago. During the Leipzig Fair 6 weeks ago, several hundred people were beaten up by police using clubs and were dispersed. Today when there are so many more demonstrators, police and state security forces have clearly exercised restraint—to this moment at least. They merely escort the procession, as is usually done in the West. Briefly, this mass demonstration has been peaceful.

Estimated at 120,000

LD1610202689 Hamburg DPA in German 2005 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Several tens of thousands of people once again demonstrated in Leipzig city center this evening for reforms, freedom of opinion, freedom of the press, and recognition of "New Forum." After peace prayers in five churches, a large crowd marched through the Leipzig Altstadt and along the ringroad. Church sources estimated the crowd to be at least 70,000.

According to information from Leipzig, at the beginning of the demonstration march there were few police and security forces to be seen. They were restricting themselves to patrol duty.

For the first time, numerous banners and placards were being carried. There were also new calls and chants for visa-free travel to the CSSR and "ecology instead of economics."

The demonstrators also shouted: "Community service is a human right;" "press freedom;" "free speech;" "join us;" "We are the people;" and "free elections."

Observers later spoke of there even being an estimated 120,000 demonstrators. "After the first 70,000 people, we had almost forgotten the second half," it was reported from Leipzig.

After a gap in the demonstration march, another 50,000 or so people followed. [passage omitted] The demonstrators also called: "Put the young in power," and "our numbers are growing, our numbers are growing."

There were also calls of "The wall must go," "we want reforms," and "the country needs new men." At about 2000 the march began to break up peacefully, it was reported. However, several thousand demonstrators walked once more around the ringroad.

Eyewitnesses said that there were hardly any security forces to be seen. It was said however that factory militia squads were standing by. Operational units took up position around a building of the state security service which is situated on the ringroad.

In Halle, several hundred people took part in a silent march today. Many people carried burning candles and flowers. This demonstration for reform was also directed against violence. According to reports from Halle in the evening, talks were held between the mayor and 15 citizens' representatives.

'Clear Signal' Wanted

LD1710111989 Hamburg DPA in German
1043 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Excerpts] East Berlin/Dresden (DPA)—The number of demonstrators who demonstrated in Leipzig on Monday evening for reforms, freedom of speech, and free elections, according to latest estimates was between 120,000 and 150,000. The protest march on the ringroad around the old part of the city proceeded without incidents, it was said. Church representatives expressed their satisfaction that this latest mass demonstration took place without clashes and that the security forces remained in the background. Superintendent Friedrich Magirius said on RIAS radio that the population expected now "something decisive" from those responsible. They urgently expect a "clear signal." The demand for press freedom is particularly urgent. [passage omitted]

The "Group of 20" has noted with regret that the chief mayor has not granted them an independent status. Berghofer was quoted as saying that a firmly installed mediator would be the equivalent of an opposition, something he rejects. According to mediators, Berghofer also rejected talks with the "New Forum." According to observers, the talks in Dresden have not yet yielded concrete results, apart from the intention to continue the dialogue and set up working groups.

DPA Reports Protests, Meetings Around Country

Peaceful Demonstrations in Plauen

LD1610122489 Hamburg DPA in German
1204 GMT 16 Oct 89

[T East Berlin (DPA)—An estimated 20,000 people reportedly held a peaceful demonstration yesterday for reforms and democratic renewal in the GDR town of Plauen. Some observers say that the figure was higher. According to this, every third or fourth person from Plauen was on the streets. There were choruses of "Democracy now," "Gorby, Gorby" and "We are the people." Plauen is near the junction of three countries—the GDR, the CSSR, and Bavaria. There were demonstrations in Plauen a week ago, although then, there had been incidents.

Meeting in Halle

LD1610132189 Hamburg DPA in German
1235 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—A meeting between civic representatives and Chief Mayor Eckhard Pratsch took place in Halle on Sunday. Church circles reported on Monday that the meeting was attended by 15 city representatives and 15 representatives of a civil assembly. The latter was elected inside a church. This function was attended by about 2,000 people.

Dialogue between the local government and citizens urging reforms was still very difficult in Halle, it was said. So far there are no positive results. A week ago a silent rally for reforms and against force was held in Halle when, it is claimed, police used in some instances great force against the crowd.

Rallies in Magdeburg, Halle

LD1710130889 Hamburg DPA in German
1226 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Thousands of people gathered in churches and in the streets also in Magdeburg, Halle and Plauen on Monday, calling for reforms and more democracy.

In Magdeburg Cathedral, where a "prayer for democratic renewal" is being held, and outside the Cathedral, some 10,000 people gathered. It was furthermore reported on Tuesday that in the cathedral a statement by the clergy to the East Berlin Interior Ministry was read out. It calls for the official registration of all social, including opposition, groups and dialogue with them. The rally outside the cathedral had been calm and without banners. There were no incidents.

According to reports from Halle some 5,000 people are said to have gathered peacefully in this city, which is not far from Leipzig. Here too the demand was for reforms and democratic restructuring. Meanwhile a dialogue between the chief mayor and a civic group has also begun in Halle.

In Plauen too a peaceful rally is said to have taken place again, it was learned in East Berlin.

Dresden Mayor Addresses Citizens

LD1710105789 Hamburg DPA in German 1015 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin/Dresden (DPA)—In order to brief themselves on the results of the latest talks between the city of Dresden and a 25-man civic group, about 10,000 Dresden citizens marched to the town hall on Monday evening. It was reported from Dresden on Tuesday that Chief Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer stepped to the open window and addressed the crowd through a megaphone. He emphasized, as already at a press conference on Monday evening, that the dialogue with critical citizens is to be continued.

Berghofer suggested before GDR journalists inside the town hall that the problems raised by the citizens would be discussed now in nine working groups, which would be supported by competent figures.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported on Tuesday that "the city assembly" is "to decide next week" about the setting up of such a working group. The second round of talks between the chief mayor and 25 critical citizens, who are urging reform and are known as "The Group of 20," was attended on Monday also by Superintendent Christof Ziemer.

Dresden Meeting Agrees on Politburo Statement

LD1710002189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2245 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Dresden (ADN)—Information was given on Monday evening at a press conference in the Dresden Town Hall on the results of a talk betwen the Chief Mayor of Dresden, Wolfgang Berghofer, and citizens of the city, representatives of the Evangelical-Lutheran Regional Church of Saxony and of the Catholic Church.

It was said that both sides agreed that the 11 October statement of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo represented a first step toward a comprehensive dialogue to solve complicated social problems. Wolfgang Berghofer announced that in future the citizens could use, within the framework of the constitution, the democratic possibilities of the city councillors' assembly. He proposed to investigate the problems mentioned in permanent and temporary working groups, supported by competent public figures. The city councillors assembly is due to decide on the formation of such working groups next week.

The citizens who took part in the talk named law and security, media policy, citizens' co-responsiblity, the concept of socialist society in the GDR, travel and emigration possibilities, education and culture, development of the city of Dresden, economy and ecology, and industry, trade, and supply as being such problems. Both sides agreed to continue the dialogue that had commenced and to find further possibilities for it.

DIE WELT Says Power Struggle Delayed

AU1610160189 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 16 Oct 89 p 10

[Report by Werner Kahl: "SED Puts Off Power Struggle Until Spring"]

[Text] The struggle for power among the leading officials of the highest bodies of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] will be decided in a compromise at the SED congress in the spring 1990. According to information received by DIE WELT, the most important personnel decision will be the proposal to elect the party chief of Dresden Bezirk, Hans Modrow, into the Politburo. This "first reform move" also involves the elimination from the supreme leadership of five aged members of the Politburo. According to information from well-informed circles in East Berlin, these members are Hermann Axen, 73, SED foreign policy spokesman; Horst Sindermann, 74, who will, however, continue to be chairman of the People's Chamber; Erich Mueckenberger, 79, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, and head of the SED group in the People's Chamber; Alfred Neumann, who will be 80 in December, "first deputy" chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Erich Mielke, almost 82, and the oldest member of the SED leadership.

The SED Central Committee, which is soon to decide on retirements and new appointments at its fall meeting, is also to be rejuvenated. The oldest member of the Central Committee is 86 years old.

The proposal to elect 61-year-old Hans Modrow into the Politburo is to be counterbalanced by nominating Politburo Candidate Member Gerhard Mueller, 61, party chief of Erfurt and considered a hardliner, as a full member.

However, Honecker's health permitting, the decision on the successor to the chairman of the GDR State Council and general secretary of the SED is to be postponed until the 12th SED Congress in the spring. Until then, Erich Honecker, 77, Kurt Hager, 77, Willi Stoph, 75, and 52-year-old Egon Krenz are to "collectively" take care of the SED leadership.

The difficult situation of the SED is also reflected in figures, as reported by the daily BILD yesterday: According to these reports, a total of 20,000 SED members are said to have canceled their membership. This corresponds almost to 1 percent of the total membership number.

Bezirk Secretaries May Call for New Politburo

AU1710115489 Hamburg BILD in German 17 Oct 89 pp 1, 7

[Unattributed report: "SED: Tonight Will Be Night of Long Knives"]

[Text] East Berlin—The struggle for power has openly broken out within the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. BILD has been told by well-informed circles in East Berlin that 13 of the 15 SED bezirk secretaries have called for the entire SED Politburo, headed by Erich Honecker, to

be replaced. Only a new leadership and immediate far-reaching reforms can solve the situation, it was stated.

The Politburo will be convened tonight—and it is probably going to be a night of the long knives.

Defense Minister Kessler, State Security chief Mielke, and economic expert Guenter Mittag are among Honecker's final supporters.

They are particularly against the calling of a special session of the SED Central Committee. The bezirk secretaries request that this session take place immediately, even though it was scheduled to take place not before late November, early December.

At this meeting, the SED provincial chiefs want to adopt an entire catalogue of immediate measures. The most important ones are:

1. Introducing a more far-reaching freedom of travel to the West for the GDR population.

2. Issuing passports to all GDR citizens who apply for one.

3. The immediate suspension of travel restrictions for the CSSR, Poland, and Hungary.

4. The rapid improvement of the food and consumer goods supply.

5. A political dialogue with the bourgeois block parties on the basis of equal rights.

6. Cooperation with the Evangelical and Catholic Churches, and with the representatives of the "New Forum" civil rights movement.

7. Secret elections and the admission of independent candidates.

8. Re-establishing legal security, and sympathetic treatment of citizens' complaints by the administrative authorities of the GDR.

The rebel SED bezirk secretaries are headed by Guenter Schabowski, party chief of East Berlin, and bezirk secretaries Lorenz (Chemnitz), Eberlein (Magdeburg), and Walde (Kottbus).

It was this group of people who at the Politburo meeting of last Tuesday and Wednesday succeeded in making the GDR leading body adopt a critical statement including the call for comprehensive dialogue with all segments of the population.

Meanwhile, the hardliners in the Politburo are also losing control over the mass media.

Only the official organ of the SED, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, continues indefatigably to propagate a tough course.

CDU Presidium Favors 'Openly' Naming Problems

LD1610220189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1832 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Presidium of the Main Executive of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany (CDU), meeting in Berlin today, discussed the present domestic and foreign political situation and the situation within the party.

It approved the talk Erich Honecker and the chairmen of the friendly parties and the president of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR held on 13 October. The Presidium noted that the CDU "in suggesting continuity and renewal—in the endeavor to ward of imperialist actions against our society—had in recent times primarily emphasized continuity." In so doing, concerned about the achievements of socialism, it had not heeded signals from its own ranks early enough.

The leading CDU body stressed that the party possessed "the inner strength to combine independence and duty to the alliance [of parties in the GDR], and, even with ideological disagreement, to shape the political consensus in working for peace, democracy and socialism." The CDU leadership named a number of main points for its future work.

The Presidium of the CDU Main Executive then spoke in favor of problems of social development being openly named and overcome by joint efforts, of what is right and lawful being applied in practice, of the electoral law being strictly applied, of the frankness and public nature of dialogue and the decision-making process being reflected in the media, and of the maturity of the citizen being respected in every administrative office." [quotation marks as received] Further concerns of the CDU are the expansion of travel opportunities and improvement in supply of goods to the population, a press release on the consultation states, which was chaired by Party Chairman Gerald Goetting and attended by the chairmen of CDU area [bezirk] associations and chief editors of the CDU press.

The Presidium stressed that for the CDU, everything "good that we have achieved in our society" is indispensable: The results of thorough past reforms, everything that contributes to socialism in the GDR and to its own characteristics, and which has proven itself for the well-being of the people.

The Presidium appealed to all members to look to the future. Every executive was urged to assume its responsibility for the country. The next meeting of the Main Executive is intended to give constructive pointers to the party's most important sociopolitical tasks.

Party Paper Comments on Dialogue With Citizens

LD1710083589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0237 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"Discussion is under way all over the country. It centers on the problems relating to the

further development of socialism in the GDR, which we ourselves—without unsought advice from the West—want to and will solve," writes NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in a commentary on Tuesday.

"We are doing this in a businesslike dialogue and in trusting political cooperation, in an atmosphere of openness, honesty and a realistic assessment of the forces and possibilities. This involves all those issues that move and affect people. It involves everything that serves the welfare of the people, as the Politburo statement says, the newspaper notes and points out that many critical questions, constructive proposals and new ideas, frank opinions and well-considered answers have been raised by the workers.

"Where is to be an open debate about everything, but one item not on the agenda is socialism on German soil," the newspaper underlines. "The workers' and peasants' power cannot be blackmailed, neither from the outside nor by certain elements on the inside. We will not allow the values and ideals of socialism to be encroached upon, we will not allow anyone to denigrate the incontrovertible successes and achievements we have made under the leadership of the party, with the unity of economic and social policy and in the field of the struggle for peace and disarmament."

Factory Party Activists Call for Dialogue

LD1710104889 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0900 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] In yesterday's meeting for party activists in the Berlin television electronics factory, the expectation was expressed that the upcoming plenum of the Central Committee would also give a self-critical assessment and would draw clear conclusions. The dialogue within the party and with the workers should not just be a short-lived campaign but should be developed into a principle for the exercise of the leading role of the working class. This would produce trust and regain it where it had been lost in recent times. Participants in the discussion criticized mindless regimentation in the factory and the shifting around of piles of paper. There was enthusiastic endorsement of calls for truly relevant media, which, as was stressed, give reliable information, and which involve people in the discussion of issues that affect them. Section leader Professor (Jakobs) spoke in favor of better democratic discussion of social affairs and of resolutions and laws by the elected representative bodies. To this end an open debate with leading comrades would be useful, and the noticeable authority of the government.

The first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Area Executive, Guenther Schabowski, welcomed yesterday's open debate, even if many of the things said were harsh. Approaching people is the working principle of the Area Executive, and it must be further developed. It is a matter of trust and expertise in the solution of the problems arising, and of cooperation by all those who hold socialism dear.

Letters to LDPD Organ Demand Changes

AU1210170289

[Editorial report] East Berlin DER MORGEN in German on 10 October 1989 on page 3 publishes a 4,200-word item "Letters to the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], discussing the speech given by Professor Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the LDPD, at a function of the Central Executive Council Political Committee on 19 September 1989.

In these letters, the readers demand political change in the GDR. A party group from Sebnitz writes that they are "concerned about, and disapprove of" the mass exodus of citizens, and that "it is urgently necessary to think about the reasons why people who have grown up in our country take such steps. It is about time to see that the causes lie in our country, and to eliminate them. We think that, based on support for socialism, it must be possible to hold frank and public discussions everywhere on the problems and mistakes in the development of socialist society. This must be connected with an adequate information and media policy, which must be in accordance with the facts and the citizens' experience. This is the only way to achieve the really democratic cooperation of responsible citizens in shaping our society." The group adds that "efforts must be made to allow all citizens to travel to other countries, no matter whether they have relatives there or not."

A party group from Jena-West writes: "We have observed our country's political and economic development, particularly in recent months, with growing concern. We consider it urgently necessary to start basic political and economic reforms now and discuss them frankly and controversially."

One reader's letter asks for "comprehensive news coverage by our media, which must not only react to Western media." Manfred Gerlach, LDPD chairman and GDR State Council deputy chairman, is encouraged to "call a spade a spade," because "this would be the first step toward change and restructuring," and the GDR would "finally get out of the embarrassing situation of having to be persuaded to adopt Soviet, Polish, or even Hungarian reforms."

Leipzig LDPD member Claus Hammer writes that he does not think that escape is a solution, and adds that "there must be no political silence in our country." Other party members in their letters call for a "socialism that is marked by progress, and not by statistics, bottlenecks, and regulations."

Readers' Letters Call for Analysis, Change

AU1710092489

[Editorial report] In the period from 12 to 15 October several GDR dailies—DER MORGEN, NEUE ZEIT, BERLINER ZEITUNG, and NEUES DEUTSCHLAND—publish readers' letters calling for changes

in the GDR, discussing the recent Politburo statement, and commenting on the mass exodus of GDR citizens.

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German on 12 October on page 2, under the headline "Thinking About Problems and Our Responsibility," carries four readers' letters, totalling 800 words, discussing the recent mass exodus of GDR citizens. The letters express "bewilderment and extreme shock" and "concern" about the mass exodus of GDR citizens. One reader says that it is "not only the right—no, it is the duty of those who have decided to stay to ask persistent questions about the reasons. We also have to stop considering as tiresome grumblers those who no longer can agree with the unanimity that has been cultivated for years." Another reader supports the continuation of the "test way" but also urges the country to "realize our own ideas. Our children will take over the positive things but they also represent the image of this social system, socialism of the future."

East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German on 13 October on page 3, under the headline "Opinions on Questions That Concern Us," carries a 1,800-word article summarizing views expressed by readers and members of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany in their letters to the newspaper commenting on current developments, including the mass exodus of GDR citizens. One reader is quoted as saying that he "regrets very much that so many citizens are leaving our republic. This cannot be considered a case of mere mass psychosis or luring away of people by the FRG. There must be more profound reasons for this. In my view it would be useful and right to analyze these reasons and eliminate them if possible and thus to make socialism more attractive."

Several readers also call for tangible results from all the discussions about the problems and advocate active and constructive action by party members.

East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German on 13 October on pages 1 and 3, under the headline "Important Stimulus for a Constructive Discussion; Socialism Can Only Be the Work of All Citizens," carries readers' letters, totalling 1,500 words, on the recent statement issued by the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED). The letters generally praise the Politburo statement as a very clear and unambiguous statement on the current developments and express satisfaction that the party leadership is tackling the problems.

Several readers express shock about the mass exodus of GDR citizens. One states that the mass exodus, "supported by the constantly aggressive influence of the FRG media, could certainly lead to feelings of depression, faint-heartedness, and doubt in the GDR. However, the political climate and the political discussions in our country must not be allowed to be determined by broadcasts from the neighboring country." In general, the letters express the view that, together, the GDR people will be able to solve all its problems.

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 14-15 October on page 2, under the headline "GDR Citizens on the Statement of the SED Central Committee Politburo," carries readers' letters, totalling 1,000 words, on the SED Politburo statement.

All the letters welcome the Politburo statement and express full agreement with it. Some letters welcome the "open dialogue" and note that the statement was received with "pleasure and satisfaction."

East Berlin DER MORGEN in German on 14-15 October on page 2, under the headline "Solve Problems Only Together, Not by Working Against Each Other!" carries readers' letters, totalling 1,100 words, commenting on the views recently expressed by Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany, on various occasions. The letters call for the current problems to be tackled, for the facts to be acknowledged, and for changes to be made, "which correspond to the current political, economic, and social realities of the country."

One reader calls for the election law to be changed: Even though the "election law is democratic—everyone has an opportunity to express his opinion when the candidates are presented—the election law is complicated, it is too complicated for the ordinary citizen."

Another reader notes: "Those who do not understand the resignation of so many of our citizens and avoid tackling this problem publicly close themselves to the vital interests of a large part of our population." "At the end of the 20th century, expulsion, on the one hand, and further restrictions, on the other, are not a suitable way of solving our domestic problems. And anyone who thinks that the plurality of the GDR society can be sufficiently expressed in associations of stamp collectors, dog breeders, etc., is ignoring the political responsibility of the citizens."

Gerlach Reaffirms Commitment to Socialism

LD1210211489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1641 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] is, and remains, a party for socialism, said party Chairman Professor Dr Manfred Gerlach today during a meeting of the political committee of the central executive with deputies and state functionaries who are members of the party. Its stance is based on historical experience, the well-understood interests of its members and beyond that, all those citizens close to the party. The LDPD is committed to the task of paving the way to progress. Referring to the GDR's alliance policy, Professor Gerlach said that policies which are produced by a process of democratic development of objectives and decisions and then become a task for everyone can only come about as the result of the efforts of everyone. The balance sheet drawn up by the party on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR provides authentic information about the LDPD's commitment and ideas.

The party chairman added that the point at issue is communication as part of human, political and socialist culture. He spoke in favor of a critical assessment of the effects and limits of economic, social, political and moral driving forces with the aim of giving free reign to the principle of renumeration according to work performance. Professor Gerlach underlined the need to put an end in the FRG to "Dreams about the Reich," with the inclusion of the GDR and based on the revision of frontiers, and to recognize realities in the interests of a peaceful European future.

Lorenz Urges 'Businesslike' Solutions to Problems

LD1410173989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1646 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—On Saturday [14 October] Politburo member Siegfried Lorenz, first secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Karl Marx Stadt Bezirk [area] executive, characterized the present situation in the GDR as a "period of high political activity and great social changes."

At a meeting in Falkenstein (Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk) marking the 100th anniversary of the birth of the revolutionary Max Hoelz, he said, "We can only solve the problems that have arisen in our country by using a businesslike dialogue and trusting cooperation, but primarily through honest work." He stressed that in the future socialism will be only as good as we mold it together. The SED is firmly resolved, together with all the country's citizens, to make still better use of the powers, advantages, and opportunities of socialism.

Answers must be found in dialogue, but also in constructive argument, "which enable us to cope with the certainly not easy challenges of the present time and the coming decade, and which correspond to our humanistic ideals," he said. In the nineties, socialism also demands the unity of economic and social policy, "but in which the principle of work performance is implemented still more consistently, co-determination and democratic controls by the working people are more effectively practiced, and thus altogether a higher economic gain is achieved." Likewise, in the nineties the fraternal cooperation with the USSR and other socialist countries will be part of socialism. The GDR will always stand by the side of those who made peace more safe [as received]. At all times [the GDR] will apply the constitutional maxim that never again will war emanate from German soil, only peace. The Politburo member concluded by saying that the time of preparation for the 12th SED Congress is characterized as "a period full of trials and changes, a time in which we tackle new things together and jettison anything obsolete, a period of the joint struggle for an attractive form of socialism in the GDR."

BILD Says 20,000 Cancel SED Membership

AU1710105389 Hamburg BILD in German 16 Oct 89 p 6

[Unattributed report: "Who Will Come Down With Honecker?]

[Text] East Berlin—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] will be convened for a special meeting in East Berlin on Thursday or Friday of this week [19, 20 October]. According to information received by BILD from reliable sources in East Berlin, the current events in the GDR will be the only topic of this meeting.

The question of who will remain in the Politburo, which is headed by Erich Honecker, will be the main topic of discussion: Who will come down with the SED head? Those who are in great danger, apart from Honecker, include Politburo members Guenter Mittag, Willi Stoph, Joachim Hermann, and Erich Mielke. Originally, the Central Committee meeting was scheduled to take place not before late November or early December.

According to information received by BILD, more than 20,000 people have canceled their SED membership. As was learned by BILD, several groups of the Free German Youth refused to take part in the torchlight procession on the occasion of the 40th anniversary celebrations of the GDR on 7 October. The Central Committee and the Politburo are inundated with resolutions and demands from enterprises and party organizations which mainly deal with questions of fundamental freedoms, questions of supply, and questions of cooperation with the FRG.

Exodus Creates 'Critical' Manpower Shortage

LD1710104289 Hamburg DPA in German 0948 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The continuing mass exodus has apparently placed many GDR enterprises in a critical situation. "Information Bureau West" reported on Tuesday, citing Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] bezirk newspapers, that the exodus has dramatically highlighted the shortage of manpower. Another reason for the difficulties is insufficient material supplies.

Admittedly the enterprises are trying to make up production and workforce shortages through special shifts and overtime, but this inevitably increases costs and reduces profits. According to the newspaper reports, a greater number of enterprises have already revised their plans "downward" several times. According to FREIE ERDE, the SED paper published in Neubrandenburg, only 11 of 46 important enterprises in that bezirk have managed to meet all their plan targets.

Actors Ask Investigation Into Police Violence

LD1610144689 Hamburg DPA in German 1408 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—Numerous GDR actors are calling for a public investigation into the most recent police actions at demonstrations in East Berlin. Their signed declaration also calls for the punishment of the police and security forces involved. According to people who attended the actors' meeting in East Berlin on Sunday, Siegfried Boettger, one of the deputy ministers of culture, also supported this demand and signed the resolution.

Meanwhile, on Monday representatives of the rock music section of the Union of Artists met with FDJ [Free Democratic Youth] leader Eberhard Aurich. They reported on numerous acts of repression by the state against artists who have signed the critical artists' resolution calling for reforms. Western media representatives were informed by those involved in the talk with Aurich about this new discussion with the FDJ. According to those affected, numerous signatories of the resolution, which also criticizes the GDR Government, were banned from appearing and even "taken in" temporarily by the police.

The resolution proposed to the actors' meeting by Maik Hamburger, dramaturge at the Deutsches theater, says, among other things: "We ... strongly condemn the illegal and degrading actions of the police toward hundreds of citizens detained on 7, 8, and 9 October." Citizens, male and female, were forced to stand motionless for hours with their faces to the wall, some of them undressed. "They were deprived of sleep by the threat of violence. They were reviled in an insulting way. Some sustained injuries. These actions are in total contravention of the norms of socialist legality."

The theater workers demand a public investigation into these events and a statement from the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of State Security "as well as punishment of those responsible." The declaration is also being sent to the Council of Ministers and the Central Executive of the FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] newspaper TRIBUENE.

National Income, Social Progress Increases

AU1110212789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "On the 40th Anniversary of the GDR—High Performances by the Working People; Unity of Economic and Social Policy"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In preparation for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, the workers, cooperative peasants, the members of the intelligentsia, and all other working people have accomplished high labor achievements. According to preliminary statistical data, the produced national income increased by 4 percent by the end of September. Industry raised its contribution to the national income by 4.3 percent, the construction sector by 4.1 percent, agriculture and forestry by 1 percent, the transportation sector and the posts and telecommunications sector by 2.1 percent, as well as domestic trade by 3.8 percent.

The increase in economic performance went hand in hand with social progress. Through new construction and modernization of 157,906 apartments, living conditions were improved for 473,000 citizens. Retail trade turnover rose by 4 percent compared with last year. In industrial goods the increase amounts to 5.7 percent. The personally disposable income of the population increased by 3.1 percent. According to preliminary data, in foreign trade the GDR achieved an export surplus of 3.7 billion valuta marks by the end of September.

In industry, goods production rose by 4.4 percent. Net production increased by 6 percent and labor productivity by 6.1 percent. Prime costs were reduced by 1 percent.

High speed was achieved in implementing the economic strategy in the case of the key technologies. By the end of September, 47,292 office and personal computers were produced. These are 617 more than planned. Compared with last year, the increase amounts to 12 percent. The production of printers was raised by 32 percent.

Concerning semiconductor component parts and electronic components, the growth rate amounts to 26 percent. So far, 14,943 robots have been produced.

In order to raise the capacity of the national economy, eight new facilities from projects of the investment state plan were put into operation in September.

These include facilities for the production of:

—reclaimed fibers in the state-owned enterprise [VEB] "Wilhelm Pieck" Chemical Fibers Combine, Schwarza;

—polyurethanes in the VEB Synthesis Works, Schwarzheide;

—raw steel in the VEB Steel and Rolling Mill, Brandenburg;

—as well as a 48-km-long 380-kilovolt transmission line in the VEB Electricity Networks Energy Combine, Berlin, and a greenhouse facility in VEB Horticulture, Greifswald.

In honor of the 40th anniversary of the GDR, 44 facilities were put into operation.

In the construction sector, net production rose by 4.6 percent and labor productivity by 5.6 percent. A total of 12,358 places in kindergartens, 4,914 places in nurseries, as well as 1,291 classrooms, and 79 school gymnasiums were created.

The cooperative peasants and workers in agriculture have exceeded the plan for state procurement of animal products. Compared with last year, the increase amounts to 1.8 percent in slaughter animals, to 2.7 percent in milk, and to 2.9 percent in eggs.

The working people of the transportation sector have made great efforts to fulfill the transportation demand of the national economy. In September, 98 km of electrified railroad track were put into operation. In the posts and telecommunications sector performances were raised by 2.4 percent.

In the "Return funds to the state—contribute to the national income" initiative, by the end of September the combines of industry, the construction and transportation sectors, as well as the bezirk councils returned energy sources, raw materials, as well as material and financial funds to the value of DM1.3 billion directly to the state.

In the individual sectors of industry the following growth in net production and labor productivity per workday, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved by the end of September:

	Net production	Labor Productivity	Reduction in prime costs
	— in percent—		
Coal and energy	4.3	3.9	0.8
Ore mining, metallurgical industry, and potash	1.0	1.4	0.4
Chemical industry	4.9	5.3	0.4
Electrical Engineering, electronics	12.8	12.7	3.1
Heavy machinery and installation construction	3.6	5.3	0.3
Machine tools and processing machinery construction	7.7	8.7	1.3
General machinery, agricultural machinery, and vehicle construction	3.5	3.2	0.1
Light industry	6.3	6.3	0.6
Glass and ceramics industry	1.6	2.6	0.3
Bezirk-administered industry and foodstuffs industry	6.6	7.1	1.1

Within bezirk-administerd industry the following development per workday in the growth of net production and the production of manufactured goods for the population, and the following reduction in prime costs per M100 of goods production were achieved:

	Net production	Manufactured goods for the population	Reduction in prime costs
	—in percent—		
Capital city of Berlin	8.5	3.6	1.8
Cottbus	8.1	8.1	1.4
Dresden	6.1	2.7	1.3
Erfurt	7.6	4.1	1.0
Frankfurt	5.5	10.5	1.8
Gera	7.5	6.7	1.7
Halle	3.8	4.1	0.9
Karl-Marx-Stadt	4.9	4.9	0.8
Leipzig	3.4	4.8	0.1
Magdeburg	10.2	7.2	1.2
Neubrandenburg	5.5	2.1	0.7
Potsdam	10.1	5.2	1.8
Rostock	7.7	4.9	0.9
Schwerin	8.4	6.7	1.1
Suhl	8.4	3.8	1.6

No Lessons on Human Rights Needed From West

AU1110142089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 89 p 2

[Speech by Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, at a festive event honoring meritorious working people on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR with high state awards in Berlin on 5 October: "The Dedicated Work of Many People Helped Our State to Make Progress"]

[Text] Dear friends and comrades, ladies and gentlemen:

It is a pleasant task for me to welcome you to this festive event on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and to honor you with the high state awards given to you by our head of state for your special achievements. With great pleasure I convey to you all more cordial personal greetings from Comrade Erich Honecker.

These days everywhere in the republic meritorious citizens and successful collectives are honored. They are working industriously and with rich results on demanding and promising tasks on the basis of a socialist social concept with clear goals, which has been developed by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and which corresponds to the interest of the people. Thus, excellent achievements in all spheres of life have to be paid tribute to, and there are many reasons to be proud of joint achievements and to meet the demands of the future with optimism and self-confidence.

The Achievements Show the Great Strength of Our Society

The diligent labor over 4 decades, in particular the tasks assumed since the eighth SED congress in connection with the course of the unity of economic and social policy, has borne rich fruit for the citizens. This does not make us self-complacent or allow us to overlook what still remains to be done on a small and a large scale. Much creative work is still required, above all an even more rapid growth rate in labor productivity on the basis of modern science and technology in order to further raise the economic performance of our economy. At the same time, it is important to react to emerging conditions and problems in a principled and flexible manner. We set ourselves fresh challenges in the unity of continuity and renewal which has always characterized our path. In this we are relying on all tested things that have already been achieved: a strong worker-peasant power, the cooperation of the SED with the friendly parties and mass organizations in the Democratic Bloc and in the National Front, which has been tested over decades, and the elan, the strength, and the trust of our people.

Your personal labor results, dear friends and comrades, and the results of all those whom we are honoring during these days reflect the working people's willingness for achievements and the great strength that is inherent in our socialist society and on which we can continue to rely. Every good deed, every new initiative helps us to make progress. This is precisely what we need today and, even more, for the great new tasks that we want to tackle. We will discuss them with our people and decide them at the 12th SED Congress and in our supreme people's representative body.

You, distinguished guests, have done dedicated work with great initiatives in industry and agriculture, in the construction and transportation sector, as outstanding artists and writers, as scholars and researchers, doctors, architects, engineers, technicians, and economists, as personages in the party of the workers class and in friendly parties, of the state and of social organizations. This work is of considerable importance to our country and its further progress, to the cause of peace, and to international cooperation. Your deserve thanks and recognition for this, which is given to you by our worker-peasant state with its highest awards.

At the same time, these thanks go to all citizens in town and countryside, who helped build our state and helped it to make progress through dedicated work in their jobs and in social life. They continue to do pioneering work also now and they are boldly doing their share to consolidate the hard-won socialist achievements, to protect them, and to multiply them through new creative efforts.

Millions of men, women, and young people from all classes and strata of the people are doing their best in their jobs every day and in the democratic participation in shaping the state and social life. Often they do more than their duty to master the demanding tasks. They are caring for their homeland not with words but with deeds. With prudence and energy they help to make progress in their enterprise, their cooperative, or institution, in their residential area, their town, or their village. They help fulfill our plans, overcome problems and difficulties, remove obstacles, and thus deliberately strengthen the socialist fatherland. Our cordial thanks go to all of them.

In this place I would like to stress the responsible work done by innumerable citizens in participating in shaping a democratic socialist society. The work of our people's representative bodies and their deputies, which is close to the citizens, the initiative rich work of the trade union members in enterprises and institutions, the participation of the jurors, arbitration and conflict committees in the administration of law, the activities of the residential district committees of the National Front, which we cannot imagine missing from the life of our society, the work of the parents' advisory councils and aktivs, and many other forms of the citizens' participation in management and planning of state and social tasks in our country—all this proves the vitality of socialist democracy. It is and remains a decisive element of the strength of our socialist state, which we want to continue shaping in the future.

We Do Not Need Any Extra Lessons on Human Rights

Our worker-peasant state certainly does not need any extra tuition in human rights and socialist democracy. We certainly do not need it from those forces who, from the first hour of our republic, 40 years ago, until the present day, have left nothing untried in hindering the GDR people on their peaceful path, in harming the socialist German peace state, and in forcing it to its knees. As a home of antifascism and humanism on German soil, as a a steadfast champion of peaceful coexistence and decisive disarmament steps, as a cornerstone of peace and socialism in Europe, the GDR has always been a thorn in the side of those forces who have never given up their revanchist dreams. On this we had, and have, no illusions.

However, in the meantime, treaties under international law have been concluded, such as the treaty on the foundations of GDR-FRG relations, and there is a European system of treaties whose principles and norms were introduced in the Helsinki Final Act. It must give every sensible person cause for thought when official Bonn disregards basic stipulations in these documents and thus calls into question the stability in Europe. We cannot warn too strongly against the dangerous path which has been embarked upon. We strongly reject the FRG's laying claim to a so-called duty to care for GDR citizens. Socialism in the GDR is no more an issue to be debated than the borders which came out in Europe as a result of World War II.

In the face of the dangers of the arms race and other global problems in our times disarmament, understanding, and cooperation are more urgent than ever before for the survival of mankind. True to its historical

peace mission, the GDR has done much to promote the process of detente and disarmament. We will continue this course unwaveringly. Side by side with the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states, we will continue to speak for a secure peace and will undertake everything to make the process of detente irreversible.

A Country That Is Respected Worldwide

Under the leadership of the workers class and its party and in close, trusting cooperation with all antifascist-democratic forces, we were able to build a stable and dynamic socialist German state, which is respected worldwide and has been successful, from the most difficult beginning. It has a modern and efficient national economy and advanced science and culture, it offers all citizens social security and safety. In accordance with the demands of the time, we link the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution. Solving this task requires significant material and intellectual efforts. However, these efforts are worthwhile, because highly promising results are emerging in the field of high technologies. This is demonstrated by the many outstanding scientific-technological achievements, which can be honored today. Together we have the strength to master the challenges of the future, to continue to dynamically develop our socialist society, and to make our socialist homeland increasingly comfortable and attractive.

Dear comrades and friends, ladies and gentlemen:

Paying great tribute to your important creative contribution to solving these tasks, the GDR State council chairman, at the proposal of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, has awarded you

—the Karl-Marx Order;

—the order "Great Star of Friendship Among Peoples";

—the honorary title "Meritorious Scientist of the People";

—the honorary title "Hero of Work";

—and the National Prize of the GDR.

On behalf of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, as well as on my own behalf, I congratulate you cordially on this award. I wish you good health, creative energy, further successful work, and all the best in your personal lives.

Kessler Criticizes NATO, Praises Military

AU1110163189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Orders of the Day for 7 October"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In an order of the day, Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense, has congratulated the army members, civilian employees, and reservists on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. The past 4 decades are practical proof of the strength and vitality of socialism on German soil, he stressed. "Firmly rooted in the people, side by side with the comrades-in-arms of the Soviet Army and the other armies of the socialist defense community, the members of the National People's Army and of the protective and security organs have contributed to ensuring that the power and the most important producer goods remain securely in the people's hands, to repelling with determination all attacks and attempts on our socialist achievements, and to having our country develop as a cornerstone of peace and detente in Europe."

The NATO bloc continues the arms build-up and still counts on military superiority. The unprecedented advance moves in disarmament by the Warsaw Pact states are still answered with increasing military expenditures and the continuation of the arms race to the west of our borders.

In order to distract from these peace-endangering activities and to discredit the worker-peasant power and its peace policy, a rabid baiting and slander campaign is being staged against socialism. "But what the enemies of the socialist German states have not been able to achieve, despite the utmost efforts over 4 decades—that is, the counterrevolutionary elimination of socialism and of the worker-peasant power on German soil—will not be possible in the future, either. This is what we are working and struggling for."

In an order of the day, Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of internal affairs and chief of the German People's Police, said that the establishment of the first German worker-peasant state is the living example of loyalty to the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and their creative implementation, of taking into account the basic lessons of German history and of the antifascist struggle. "In our turbulent time" the state proves to be "a consistent fighter for peace and socialism."

The members of the German People's Police and of the other organs of the Interior Ministry have always made their contribution to the overall strengthening and the reliable protection of the worker-peasant power, the minister stressed. "Solving the new tasks in the further shaping of the socialist society, safeguarding the results that have been achieved in the struggle to preserve peace, and rejecting the activities of those politicians in the West who continue to rigidly stick to the position of nuclear deterrence and who interfere more openly than ever before in the internal affairs of the socialist countries, requires every member of these organs to do his best in ensuring a high level of public order and security." A further increase in quality and effectiveness in enforcing the laws, in reliably protecting the state and economic interests, as well as in ensuring peace and the security of the citizens must be achieved, the minister said.

U.S. Accused of Interference in Crisis Areas

AU1710081289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Oct 89 p 2

["r.e." editorial: "Violation of International Law"]

[Text] In Afghanistan a society for national rescue has been founded. The name is to be taken literally: Afghanistan's national existence is at stake. The society proposes to stop the killing in the country, to stop the fighting, to start talks, and to form a temporary government of national unity. What is opposed to such reasonable steps? The rigid adherence of fanatic tribal warriors to their "Holy War" against the people and against the government in Kabul; and, since treacherous missiles attacks from the mountains on women and children in the cities would not be possible without it, the supply of weapons and ammunition from the United States and other imperialist states; and continuous interference in the affairs of the Afghan people while violating the Geneva agreements—this is the ultimate reason for the ongoing bloodshed.

In Nicaragua the problems are totally different. But here, too, the interference by the United States is the decisive reason why the people are permanently prevented from settling their affairs themselves. For years, the Contras, who were supported and armed by Washington, attacked, killed, and harassed the Nicaraguans without being able to distract Sandino's heirs from their path. After open violence has failed, the United States is now trying to achieve the desired effect by financing the opposition's election campaign with more and more millions of dollars. Close by, in Panama, the attempt to stage a coup to remove the regime which defends the country's national interest against Washington's patronizing and calls for the adherence to the contractually agreed withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Canal Zone, has just failed.

In Afghanistan, like in Nicaragua and Panama, the ruling circles of the United States have firm political, economic, and military interests. They do not ask about international law, about the people's right to self-determination, or human rights. Imperialism always only claims rights for itself—and for the opposition, which is taking care of its interests in other countries.

NATO Intent on Changing 'Postwar Developments'

AU1710080889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 13 Oct 89 p 2

["W.M." editorial: "Woerner Against the Status Quo—NATO on a Dangerous Course"]

[Text] What does NATO want? The consolidation of peace and international cooperation or a new arms race and confrontation? The promotion of projects for new offensive weapons, such as Fighter 90 and the Stealth bomber, plans for the modernization of missiles, and attempts to brake the disarmament negotiations give rise to doubts about the attitude of the Western alliance. Now the NATO secretary general has made a statement in Washington which deserves the utmost attention: He said that the most important task of NATO is to change the status quo.

These words exactly correspond to the facts that have been created by armament. They show that influential forces of the Western alliance do not want a change toward improving the international situation and toward disarmament, but quite the contrary. Also proof of this is the "four-stage plan," which was recently reported by DIE WELT from NATO headquarters. This plan was justified by the realization of these circles that a further strict limitation of arms control policy does not correspond to the situation, and that the political and military interests of the West have to be harmonized.

The four stages of this plan are aimed, in short, at dissolving the Warsaw Pact, while NATO is to remain in existence in its full size and strength. In this connection, terms are arising like those that Woerner used in Washington. "The postwar order in Europe" is to be subjected to a "constructive revision." It is also to be taken into account that the "limitation of risks" in implementing the plan depends on the "course of the reforms" in the Warsaw Pact states and that one has to make "concessions to the forces that are actually responsible for reforms there."

Therefore, it is certainly no coincidence that at precisely this time a state secretary in Bonn advocates the resurrection of other plans: namely, the "gray plans" drawn up decades ago to turn state-owned enterprises into capitalist enterprises, and to turn the entire GDR into an FRG land. And it is certainly no coincidence that his chancellor aggressively refuses to distance himself from this undisguised threat.

Therefore, we have every reason to be vigilant and ready for defense, and to continue to determinedly advocate reason and realism in international politics; to advocate a strengthening of the European peace order, which is based on the recognition of the status quo, of the results of World War II and the postwar development; and to advocate close cooperation in this not only with our allies in the Warsaw Pact, but with all who consider the consolidation of the hard-earned peace order on our continent to be their most important concern.

Hager Signs Long-Term Cultural Pact in USSR

LD1310124489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1220 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the CPSU intend to promote still closer cooperation between the GDR and the USSR in the intellectual-cultural area. A long-term conception of the two parties, which lasts until the year 2000, was agreed upon in Moscow on Friday.

Concrete tasks were the regular exchange of artistic works, the expansion of personal contacts between cultural workers, and the promotion of exchanges of experience. Particular attention was devoted to cooperation between young artists. Study trips, work study progress, and exchanges of training programs should be used for this just as much as the staging of international competitions and festivals by young artists of the socialist countries.

The conception underlines the responsibility of the SED and the CPSU for the preservation and development of the national culture and language of Soviet citizens of German nationality.

The conception was signed by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Vadim Medvedev, member of the politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Tisch Discusses Unions With USSR's Shaleyev

LD1610213789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1723 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive of the Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB), and Stepan Shalayev, chairman of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, [AUCCTU], discussed on Monday the current tasks of the trade unions of the GDR and the USSR in Moscow.

During the meeting, the trade union chairman also discussed the further development of cooperation between both associations and questions of the international trade union movement. It was reported that the meeting took place in an atmosphere of comradely openness and complete mutual amity.

Harry Tisch was in the Soviet capital for a working visit at the invitation of the AUCCTU.

Meeting Emphasizes More Cooperation With PRC

AU1010203389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Oct 89 p 9

[ND report: "GDR-PRC Cooperation Systematically Developed"]

[Text] Cottbus—The PRC party-state delegation visited Cottbus Bezirk on Sunday [8 October]. They were welcomed into the Bezirk leadership building by Werner Walde, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. The delegation, led by Yao Yilin, member of the Standing Committee of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and vice premier of the PRC State Council, was accompanied by GDR Minister of the Chemical Industry Guenther Wyschofsky.

Werner Walde said that as everywhere in the GDR, the course of the unity of economic and social policy pursued by the SED has also proved successful in the Lausitz region.

He said that this was made particularly clear by the fact that since the Eighth SED Congress the housing conditions of half of the 885,000 citizens of Cottbus Bezirk had improved. He said that the achievements of socialism are also born out by the full social and national equality of the Sorbs, the only national minority in the GDR.

Yao Yilin said that, during the festivities marking the GDR's anniversary, his conviction had been confirmed that the GDR has proved its worth as vanguard of socialism in the struggle for peace. He stressed that "we resolutely side with you in this struggle. The first worker-peasant state on German soil has made considerable efforts in building socialism."

Hundreds of workers gave the Chinese delegation a warm welcome in the parent enterprise of the "Fritz Selbmann" Schwarze Pumpe Gas Combine. The high technological level of lignite refinement in the GDR had caused the PRC to conclude an agreement on setting up a modern gas plant for the city of Harbin in Hei Long Jiang Province in January 1987. This new plant will produce city gas [Stadtgas] as of 1992 according to the method of fixed-bed pressure gasification that is applied by Schwarze Pumpe.

Yao Yilin said that the economic and scientific-technological cooperation was an expression of the two countries' close fraternal relations. He said: "We are ready to deepen the exchange of experience and to expand economic contacts."

In the afternoon, the guests visited Spreewald.

On Friday [6 October], Yao Yilin had been received by Gerhard Schuerer, SED Central Committee Politburo member, Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and chairman of the State Planning Commission.

Based on the statements made during the visit of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to the PRC in 1986, tasks and measures were discussed to continue to systematically develop, in the forthcoming years, the positive results which have been reached in economic cooperation. The partners in the talks stressed that the conditions for this were created by the timely preparation of the long-term trade agreement for the period 1991 through 1995.

They said that the agreement signed in 1986 on the development of long-term economic and scientific-technological cooperation until the year 2001, and the existing 44 government and ministerial agreements, were a good basis in this respect. They led to the deepening of joint work above all in the areas of key technologies and production cooperation in rolling stock

production, in the chemical industry, in agricultural machinery production, and in other areas, they said.

Taking part in the talks were Guenther Wyschofsky, GDR minister of the chemical industry; Gu Xiulian, PRC minister of the chemical industry; Zhang Dake, PRC ambassador to the GDR, and other personages.

Annual Trade Protocol With DPRK Signed

AU1110150089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Trade Protocol for 1990 With DPRK Signed"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—A protocol between the GDR and the DPRK was signed in Berlin on Thursday [5 October] on mutual goods deliveries in 1990. It was signed by the deputy foreign trade ministers of the GDR and the DPRK, Jochen Steyrer and Pang T'ae-yul.

The GDR will mainly deliver machine-building, electrical engineering, and electronic products, as well as chemical products.

The DPRK mainly exports mineral raw materials, nonferrous metals, and agricultural products.

Within the framework of the agreed industrial cooperation in the field of light industry, the purchase of work clothes from the DPRK will be expanded.

The signing of the annual protocol was attended by DPRK Ambassaor Pak Yong-chang.

Soelle Discusses Economic Cooperation With Cuba

AU1310205289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR-Cuba Economic Cooperation Discussed"]

[Text] East Berlin—Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR Section of the GDR-Cuba Economic Committee, received Ernesto Melendez Bachs, minister president of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation of the Republic of Cuba, for a friendly talk on Wednesday [11 October]. The partners in the talk discussed measures for even more efficient cooperation in the construction of production facilities in Cuba's industry and agriculture, which would further increase Cuba's export potential. They discussed primarily projects in the foodstuffs industry, chemistry, electrical engineering and electronics, and the building material industry. The significance of the current work to coordinate the economic plans for the coming 5-year period was stressed.

The meeting was attended by the ambassador of the Republic of Cuba, Ramiro del Rio Perez-Teran.

Kohl Speech Called 'Undisguised Intervention'

LD1110083689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0227 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] [no dateline as received] (ADN)—The newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today described the latest statement by FRG Chancellor Khol, in which he stipulated to the GDR "what it should and should not do" as "undisguised intervention in the internal affairs of another sovereign state." In the commentary, under the heading "Illusions in Bonn and Unsolicited Advice," it says:

"If we look for the nub of the argument in Kohl's text, then we must focus on one proposition: the GDR should introduce 'reforms' which correspond to Bonn's ideas. Frankly, if we are being confronted with new demands at present, which require new solutions, we will deal with this ourselves. Our people, through their initiative, good sense, and suggestions, will find the correct answer to all the new questions. We will solve our problems on our own—not with Kohl's remedies, but through socialist means, in a socialist way, in order to further strengthen socialism. All demands and recommendations which are in reality intended to weaken or even do away with socialism will bear no fruit with us."

Kohl himself has made clear what these "reform" proposals really boil down to, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes. "The FRG holds fast to the political objective of bringing about a state of affairs 'in which the German people, in a spirit of free self-determination, regain their unity.' And thus the cat is out of the bag. This is it—the revanchist demand for "reunification," after the "Anschluss" of the GDR. "Should Kohl not also have spoken, as have his ministers, of the restoration of the 'German Reich' within the borders of 1937, of the true, major reform, the revision of the European realities including the existing borders?", the paper asks.

"Of course, nothing will come of this. We will make sure of that, and furthermore, the other peoples and countries of Europe will not go along with it. As far as relations with the GDR in particular are concerned, it would be a good thing if some thought was given on the Rhine to the Basic Treaty between the GDR and the FRG and to the joint communique on Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in 1987, and if the spirit and letter of these international legal documents were observed. What has already been achieved should not be put in jeopardy."

Bulgarian Trade Union Delegation Visits

AU1310204589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 89 p 8

[ADN report: "Trade Unionists from Sofia Visit Berlin"]

[Text] A delegation of the Sofia City Council of the Bulgarian trade unions, headed by Chairman Asen Arsov, is currently in Berlin at the invitation of the Berlin Executive Committee of the Free German Trade

Union Federation. On Tuesday [10 October] the deputy chairman of the Berlin Bezirk Executive Committee, Erich Roeder, briefed the Bulgarian colleagues on competition initiatives and results of Berlin work collectives. Questions concerning the trade unions' contribution to safeguarding peace as well as the further development of relations between the trade union organizations of the two capitals were also discussed during the meeting.

During their stay, in talks with trade union members from enterprises, the visitors from Sofia will familiarize themselves with their experiences in socialist competition, with the trade unions' work for better working and living conditions, and with the results of cooperation between enterprises from the two cities.

Polish Defense Delegation Ends Visit

AU1310171589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Exchange of Experiences With Polish Delegation"]

[Text] Schwerin—A delegation of the PPR League for National Defense ended a several-day friendship visit to Schwerin on Tuesday [10 October]. The Polish visitors exchanged experiences with professional and voluntary trainers of the Society for Sports and Technology concerning military sports and the paramilitary education of the young. Commemorating the victims of the death march of the inmates of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, the members of the Defense League laid a wreath at the "Mother" memorial in the village of Raben Steinfeld.

Cyprus President Discusses Disarmament

AU1010092789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Oct 89 p 6

[Interview with Cypriot President Yeoryios Vasiliou by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND jouranlist Werner Micke: "Excellent Example of Constructive Cooperation"; date and place not given]

[Text] ND: At present great efforts are made all over the world to continue the disarmament process. How do you, Mr President, assess the chances for further progress? Is there a connection with a solution to the Cyprus problem?

Vasiliou: Cyprus, a small country and the victim of foreign armed aggression, has always welcomed and supported all efforts to establish conditions of stability and security in the world and to promote detente and disarmament. Regarding disarmament in particular, both nuclear and conventional disarmament, we consider it as the most important and essential precondition and element of world peace and security.

The trend toward a rapprochement of the views of the two big superpowers and alliances over the past 2 years, the historically important INF Treaty, and also other measures for nuclear and conventional disarmament have created a new, extremely positive climate in international politics. This climate can also be felt in the progress that has been achieved in settling a number of regional conflicts.

We hope very much that this climate will have a positive effect on the prospects of a solution of that problem which developed in 1974 through the invasion and occupation of part of Cyrus by Turkish forces.

My government is of the view that the Cyprus problem should be a topic for discussion as a regional problem in the dialogue between the two superpowers and thinks that the new climate establishes better prospects for a solution.

However, we think that additional steps have to be made toward disarmament. For this purpose, we are in favor of more intensive rapprochement and closer cooperation between the two blocs, as well as a new, more intensive dialogue between them. Our conviction is underpinned by the active role that is played by Cyprus at the current CSCE negotiations on confidence-building measures in Vienna.

The proposal for the complete demilitarization of the Republic of Cyprus, which I presented last year at the third special UN plenum on disarmament, is proof of our will to make a contribution to international disarmament. The proposal envisages the reduction of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Cyprus under the precondition that all Turkish occupation forces and settlers leave the island.

Finally, I would like to stress that an end to the arms race will free enormous and urgently needed human, material, and financial resources, which could be used for other noble goals of human activities, such as in the struggle against poverty, illiteracy, and hunger in the world. This is also an important aspect of disarmament, which should not be underestimated.

ND: What are the most important goals of your government for the further development of the Republic of Cyprus? Which main problems are to be solved in this connection?

Vasiliou: One of the main goals of my government consists in modernizing and further developing the Cypriot economy, in particular in view of a potential future application of membership in the EC, which whom Cyprus has already established a customs union. In this connection, one of our main tasks is to gradually eliminate the existing system of protective customs duties under the condition of the customs union. This process must be linked with strengthening the productive sector through technical, structural, and organizational improvements.

At the same time, the government is pursuing a radical change of the existing tax system, which is to [illegible]ually

distribute the tax burdens and to reduce tax evasion. The tax reform project is part of more extensive efforts to reduce the deficit in the state sector. These efforts also include cuts of the budget expenditures.

The government's development plan for 1989-92, which is aimed at annual real growth rates of 5 percent, also envisages the improvement of the quality of the tourism sector, a main source of foreign currency, and the expansion of other service sectors, such as, for instance, consulting, market research, communication, and insurance.

In total, we want to improve our competitiveness both in the productive and in the service sectors so that Cyprus can fully exploit the opportunities arising from its position as a trade and service bridge between East and West, for the benefit of all its inhabitants.

ND: How do you, Mr President, assess the state of relations between our countries? Which opportunities do you see for their further development?

Vasiliou: Relations between the GDR and Cyprus have been and are cordial in all fields and are determined by a continuous further development. I note this with particular satisfaction.

The exchange between our two countries comprises a wide range. It includes trade, culture, science, health, public information, and education, to cite just a few fields. There are a number of agreements in this connection. Another three bilateral agreements will be added. It is the express will of both sides to further expand the existing relations for mutual benefit.

Relations between the GDR and Cyprus are an excellent example for constructive and mutually beneficial cooperation between states with a different political and socioeconomic system. They stress the will of our peoples to unite their forces for the cause of world peace and security.

In conclusion, I would like to seize the opportunity to again convey to the people and the leadership of the GDR the sincere thanks and appreciation of the Cypriot people for the consistent support and firm solidarity which they have always given to the just cause of Cyprus as well as for the principled and altruistic attitude of the GDR Government in discussing the Cyprus problem at international forums.

Foreign Minister Finds Support at UN

AU1110162389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Oct 89 p 9

[ADN report: "GDR Foreign Minister Pays Tribute to the Course of the UN Debate"]

[Text] New York (ADN)—The course of the general debate of the 44th session of the UN General Assembly so far has made clear that the advocates of true disarmament and lasting detente have considerably increased in number. This was the assessment given by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer in New York in an interview with ADN. The number of those who are in favor of a peaceful solution to international conflicts, of an environment worth living in, and of fair chances for the developing countries in international trade has also clearly increased. The minister stressed that the GDR and the socialist states have been at the top of this group.

Oskar Fischer pointed out that, unfortunately, there were also other voices to be heard in New York that were rooted in the spirit of cold war and hostility toward socialism. This is why, during his more than 40 meetings on the fringe of the General Assembly, he noted with satisfaction how many of the partners in the talks from all over the world had demonstratively expressed their affinity with the socialist German state. This year in particular, his talks made it clear that the role and the weight of the GDR, as well as the value of its 40-years of development into a stable socialist state that provides overall social security to its citizens, are well understood everywhere, Oskar Fischer noted. "And those who do not love us because of our socialist social system, still respect and value us as a state whose existence and work are indispensable to guaranteeing security and the peaceful future of the peoples, not only in Europe."

Leistner Leads NVA Delegation on Swiss Visit

LD0910184189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1432 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Bern (ADN)—A delegation from the GDR National People's Army [NVA] arrived in Zurich today for a several-day visit to Switzerland. The delegation is led by Lieutenant General Guenter Leistner, deputy chief of the NVA Main Staff. Over the next few days it will familiarize itself with the problems of Switzerland's national defense and will visit units and installations of the Swiss army.

On arrival, Lieutenant General Leistner expressed the conviction that the visit will contribute toward the further development of relations between the NVA and the Swiss Army in the interests of both peoples and of the improvement in the international climate. He referred to the GDR's efforts to bring forward the process of disarmament and to do all in its power to preserve and secure peace.

People's Army Delegation Visits Switzerland

AU1110161689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Oct 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Delegation of the National People's Army Visits Switzerland"]

[Text] Bern (ADN)—On Monday [9 October] a delegation of the GDR's National People's Army arrived for a several-day visit to Switzerland in Zurich. The delegation is headed by Lieutenant Guenter Leistner, deputy chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army.

Over the next few days, the delegation members want to acquaint themselves with problems of Swiss national defense and visit units and installations of the Swiss Army.

Stoph, Finnish Minister Discuss Cooperation

LD0910191889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1616 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Premier Willi Stoph and Finnish Agriculture Minister Toivo Pohjala have stressed the great importance of joint endeavors to secure peace. In Berlin today they advocated the continued purposeful development of political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations between the GDR and Finland, and the intensification of the exchange of information and experiences between experts in the two countries.

Bilateral cooperation has also continued to develop to mutual advantage in the agriculture, forestry and foodstuffs economy. This includes scientific-technical relations in crop cultivation and livestock breeding, agricultural and forestry output, and environmental protection.

Further on Meeting

AU1110154689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Oct 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Finnish Politician Received in GDR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [9 October] in Berlin Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Toivo Pohjala, minister of agriculture and forestry of the Republic of Finland, who is paying a several-day visit to the GDR at the invitation of Bruno Lietz, minister of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry.

During the meeting, which took place in an open-minded atmosphere, both politicians paid tribute to bilateral cooperation between the two states, which is becoming increasingly constructive on the basis of the agreements at the highest level. It has also developed steadily for mutual benefit in the field of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry and comprises both the scientific-technological relations in such fields as crop and livestock production as well as agricultural and forestry production and environmental protection.

Willi Stoph and Toivo Pohjala stressed the great importance of joint efforts to safeguard peace. They came out in favor of the further purposeful expansion of the political, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural relations between the GDR and the Republic of Finland as well as the intensification of the exchange of information and experiences between experts from the two countries. The meeting was attended by Bruno Lietz, minister of agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry. Also present was Arto Tanner, ambassador of Finland to the GDR.

Sindermann Decorates, Praises 'Arafat

LD0610212189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1533 GMT 6 Oct 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Yasir 'Arafat was decorated today with the GDR Grand Star of International Friendship. The president of the State of Palestine and chairman of the PLO Executive Committee received the honor in Berlin from Horst Sindermann, deputy chairman of the State Council and member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo. It was conferred on him on the occasion of his 60th birthday.

Sindermann praised 'Arafat and his actions as symbols of the Palestinian people's desire for freedom and peace, and their struggle, which involved many sacrifices, against the imperialist policy of violence. The GDR will also in the future demonstrate solidarity at the side of the Palestinian people and state on the path to a more just, comprehensive, and lasting settlement of the conflict in the near East.

Yasir 'Arafat expressed his thanks in emotional words for the high honor from the GDR, whose successful development in 40 years also provided impetus for the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

Greetings Sent on 40th Anniversary

Soviet Forces' Message

AU1310183789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 89 p 6

[Greetings message from the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces to GDR leaders on national day]

[Text] Comrade Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], chairman of the GDR State Council, and chairman of the GDR National Defense Council

Comrade Willi Stoph, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers

Esteemed Comrades:

On behalf of the Supreme Command, the Political Administration, and all members of the Western Group of Armed Forces, as well as on our own behalf, we convey cordial congratulations to you and, through you, to all working people of the GDR on the occasion of your significant jubilee, the 40th anniversary of the founding of the first worker-peasant state on German soil.

The workers class, the peasants, and the intelligentsia of the people of the GDR are commemorating the anniversary of their republic at a time of great political and economic upswing during which their efforts are directed toward the successful fulfillment of the tasks to increase the well-being of the entire people and of their

country's economic strength, and toward the strengthening of the GDR's authority in the international arena.

The members of the Western Group of Armed Forces, like all Soviet people, are pleased with and proud of their German friends, who, through consistent work, are breathing life into the program for shaping developed socialism and are commemorating the 40th anniversary of their republic with new successes in all spheres of social and political life, as well as in the country's national economy.

We accord special significance to the indestructible ties of friendship that link the members of the Western Group of Armed Forces and the soldiers and working people of the GDR. We will continue to strengthen this friendship and protect the achievements of socialism and the peaceful and creative work of our peoples together with the comrades-in-arms of the National People's Army and the other Warsaw Pact states.

On this important day, we convey our heart-felt thanks to the SED Central Committee, the party, state, and military organs of the republic for the steady attention and support they provide to the Western Group of Armed Forces in solving the responsible tasks that it is facing.

We wish you, dear comrades, and the entire people of the fraternally allied GDR further successes in the struggle to shape the developed socialist society.

With communist greetings,

Army General B. Snetkov,

commander in chief of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces

Colonel General N. Moisseyev,

member of the Military Council and head of the Political Administration of the Western Group of Soviet Armed Forces

Syrians Send Message

AU1310204489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 89 p 6

[Greetings message from Syrian leaders on the GDR's National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker,

Chairman of the GDR State Council:

Esteemed Comrade:

It is a great pleasure for me to convey sincere congratulations and cordial greetings to you and the friendly people of your country on behalf of the people of the Syrian Arab Republic and on my own behalf on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR. I take this opportunity to express my confidence that the excellent relations of friendship and cooperation that exist between our countries will further strengthen in the coming years to the mutual benefit of our two peoples and in the interest of justice, peace, and understanding in the world. Esteemed comrade, please accept once more my best wishes for good health, happiness, and a long life, as well as for further progress and prosperity of the people of the GDR.

Hafiz al-Asad,

General secretary of the Arab Socialist Baath Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

His excellency, Mr Willi Stoph,

Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers:

It is a pleasure for me to convey most cordial congratulations and sincere wishes on behalf of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic and on my own behalf on the occasion of the GDR's National Day.

I am confident that the bilateral and cooperative relations between our two peoples and countries will further develop and strengthen. Your Excellency, I wish you good health and well-being, and further progress and well-being to the friendly people of the GDR.

Mahmud al-Zu'bi,

Prime minister of the Syrian Arab Republic

'Arafat Greetings

AU1310192189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Oct 89 p 6

[Greetings message of PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat on National Day]

[Text] His Excellency

Comrade Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]

chairman of the GDR State Council:

Excellency, Comrade chairman!

On the occasion of the festivities marking the anniversary of the founding of the GDR, it is a pleasure for us to convey to you, Excellency, and through you to your militant party, your esteemed government, and the friendly GDR people, on behalf of the Government and the people of Palestine, on behalf of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, and on my own behalf, the warmest congratulations and the most sincere comradely greetings for the further progress and prosperity of the GDR under your wise and courageous leadership.

On this significant national occasion, your people and your party, who are close to us, are taking stock of the great sacrifices they have made and the great victories

they have won in achieving this noble goal. As you are celebrating this occasion today, your people and your militant party corroborate their determination to persistently continue on the road of development and construction, in order to implement further economic progress and improvement and social prosperity. We are convinced that, owing to your wise leadership and courageous policy, this road will be crowned with success.

Excellency, Comrade chairman!

We share your joy and take part in your festivities on this occasion, and we note with pride and great appreciation the courageous comradely support that you have energetically and consistently given to our people in their just national struggle and their glorious uprising under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, a struggle that they will continue until victory is won, until the Israeli occupation of the territory of their home country has ended, until they have regained and can exercise their inalienable national rights, including the right to return and the right to self-determination, and have created an independent state of Palestine, with Jerusalem as its capital.

I also wish to assure you, Excellency, that this constant help and support that you have given to our people and their just cause in this significant and fateful stage of their battle, has enhanced their determination to continue their brave national resistance, so that they can set up an independent state on their own territory where they can live as a free, sovereign, and independent people, similar to other free peoples.

I take this opportunity to assure you that we are very proud of the relations of firm friendship and militant solidarity between our two friendly peoples, between the PLO and your esteemed government, and between our Palestinian revolution and your friendly party, and we assure you, Excellency, of our sincere determination to further strengthen these comradely relations which serve our common interest in the implementation of just and lasting peace in our regions, and our contribution to preserving international security and world peace.

In conclusion, I once again express to you, dear Comrade chairman, my best congratulations, and I wish you, Excellency, good health, well-being, and success in leading your diligent people on the road of progress, prosperity, and growth. With my best wishes for you as the great friend of our people and our just cause.

Revolution till victory!

Yasir 'Arafat

president of the State of Palestine

chairman of the PLO Executive Committee

Congolese Leader Sends Greetings

AU1310182989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 89 p 6

[Greetings message from Army General Denis Sassou-Nguesso, president of the Republic and head of the Government of the People's Republic of Congo, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany]

[Text] His Excellency, Comrade Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council

Dear Comrade Chairman:

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, it is a pleasure for me to convey very cordial and sincere congratulations to you. At the same time I would like to convey best wishes for success and well-being to you, Excellency, and your people.

Under the farsighted leadership of the SED, your country has achieved considerable progress in the social, cultural, economic, and technological spheres and today occupies a respectable place among nations and enjoys recognition and admiration.

The GDR's internationalist attitude is a valuable aid for the progressive countries in general, and for the African countries in particular, in their national struggle for liberation.

I wish the people of the GDR, the SED, and its general secretary—who has made a sizable contribution to preserving peace in Europe and the world—a happy anniversary and even bigger successes in the construction of developed socialism.

I am particularly pleased about the excellent state of relations between our parties, states, and peoples, and express the hope that these relations of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity that link our parties in happiness may develop further.

Dear Comrade chairman, please accept my militant respect.

Yours faithfully,

Army General Denis Sassou-Nguesso,

president of the Republic and head of Government of the People's Republic of Congo

Madagascar Sends Greetings

AU1310181989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Oct 89

[Greetings message from Didier Ratsiraka, president of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council]

[Text] His Excellency, Mr Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council

The 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR is a welcome occasion for me to convey, on behalf of the Malagasy people, its revolutionary state power, and on my own behalf, most cordial congratulations and my best wishes for your personal well-being, for the well-being of the people of the GDR, and the strengthening and development of relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries in the joint interest of our peoples.

Respectfully yours,

Didier Ratsiraka, president of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar

Soviet Ambassador Interviewed on HSP Congress

LD1110122389 Budapest MTI in English 1036 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 11 (MTI)—In the wake of the foundation of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP), Boris Stukalin, Soviet ambassador to Hungary, gave the following interview to "NEPSZABADSAG":

Q: You were one of the ambassadors invited to the congress. How do you assess the developments?

A: I share the view of the Hungarian and international public that this congress was an event of extraordinary importance to Hungary. In keeping with the principles of independence and non-interference approved in the relationship between the CPSU and other parties, I do not feel authorised to assess the congress and the resolutions it passed. That is entirely our Hungarian comrades' affair. Furthermore, there has been very little time to draw the necessary conclusions.

Q: What impact will the foundation of the HSP make on bilateral relations?

A: Of course, we followed the course of the congress with great attention. The Soviet Union has taken note of the parts of the documents and Rezso Nyers's speech dealing with cooperation with the communist parties. Since the congress decided that the HSP regarded itself as the legal successor to the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and heir to the time-honoured traditions of the socialist and communist movement, we hope that diverse relations will continue to develop between our parties. We are confident that, as Mikhail Gorbachev stressed in his telegram to Comrade Rezso Nyers, cooperation between the CPSU and HSP complies with the interests of both peoples, peace and socialism. We hope that two-way relations will develop fruitfully for both sides, and mutual interest provides a good basis for this.

Q: What importance do you attribute to the changes in Hungary from the point of view of the international Labour Movement? Is a worldwide approach between the communist, socialist and social democratic branches of the Labour Movement conceivable?

A: Only time will tell what influence the congress will have on the international Labour Movement. A process of approach between the communist and socialist parties can definitely be seen. The CPSU maintains relations not only with the communist parties, but also with several socialist, social democratic and democratic movements. I think this process if favourable for all sides concerned, Ambassador Boris Stukalin said.

CSSR Compromise on Gabcikovo Dam Conceivable

LD1310173789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] First and foremost, our most important news item is that Czechoslovakia considers a modification of the 1977 interstate agreement on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros water barrage to be conceivable. This is what the Prague Government spokesman has told Czechoslovak television. For the first time an official Prague statement expressing a readiness for compromise has been voiced on the matter of the water barrage. According to the spokesman, a condition for modification would be that Prague and Budapest come to agreement over compensation related to the water barrage system.

Industry Minister Receives Romanian Official

LD1610141789 Budapest MTI in English 1249 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 16, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Romanian Deputy Premier Ion Dinca had talks in Budapest over the weekend with Hungarian Minister of Industry Ferenc Horvath on the development of bilateral economic cooperation.

Speaking of the talks afterwards, Mr Horvath said that, despite tensions in political relations between the two countries, Romania has been Hungary's fastest developing COMECON trade partner over the past few years.

The target figure of 2.9 billion roubles' worth of trade for the five years between 1986 and 1990 planned was achieved a year early, with Hungarian exports accounting for 1.4 billion roubles.

This year turnover is expected to reach 720 million roubles, thus exceeding the planned five-year figure by over 18 per cent.

However, over the last few months, deliveries have slowed down, with only 82 per cent of the quota fulfilled. The fall may be due to a decrease in the delivery capacity of Romanian companies as well as to a drop in Hungarian demand.

The Hungarian minister said that cooperation accounts for barely 10 per cent of trade and needs to be expanded through the setting up of JVS [Joint Ventures], for example. The Romanians agree on this and both sides see no reason why differences in economic policy should stand in the way of broadening links.

This year, the Romanians have delivered 40,000 Dacia cars, several thousand Aro jeeps and various vehicle parts to Hungary. Major Hungarian export items are machine tools, the deliveries of which have trebled to 30 million roubles over the last two years.

In the future, industrial cooperation may be extended to the joint manufacture of car parts and small utility vehicles. Talks between the companies concerned are apparently already underway.

Horn Returns to Budapest After Hamburg Congress

LD1410171189 Budapest MTI in English 1604 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—Foreign Minister Gyula Horn returned to Budapest from the FRG on Saturday. Mr Horn attended the Hamburg Congress of the German Europe Union, the FRG section of the Europe movement, alongside several leading West European politicians. The Hungarian foreign minister delivered a paper at the congress. Mr Horn met Helmut Kohl, chancellor of the FRG, and Hans-Dietrich Genscher, foreign minister.

Vienna Talks' Delegation Leaders Visit Budapest

LD1410212189 Budapest MTI in English 2009 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—Leaders of delegations to the Vienna talks on the reduction of European convention armed forces and weapons, and confidence-building measures visited Hungary on Saturday. Austrian Foreign Minister Alois Mock was one of the guests of the visit, organized by the Austrian and the Hungarian Foreign Ministries. The delegation leaders were familiarized with the prominent Hungarian cultural historical values and sights.

Chinese Official's 1-Week Visit Reported

LD1510170189 Budapest MTI in English 1614 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—Lu Chong-ho, deputy governor of the Chinese Guangdong Province, who headed a delegation of technical and scientific experts to Budapest, has concluded his one-week visit to Hungary. The delegation met Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy.

The Chinese delegation held talks with Laszlo Muller, deputy president of the State Committee of Technical development, on the possibilities of cooperation in engineering, computer technology, and the food and chemical industries.

The Chinese delegation left Hungary on Sunday.

Council of Ministers Official Visits Thailand

LD1510183189 Budapest MTI in English 1738 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, arrived in Thailand on an official viist on Sunday [15 October]. Mr Medgyessy is accompanied by Zoltan Gombocz, state secretary of trade, and Jozef Benyi, deputy minister of foreign affairs. At the airport, Mr Medgyessy met Pong Sarasin, deputy prime minister. After the arrival, the Hungarian delegation left for Pattaya and saw the east coast development zone of Thailand.

On Monday [16 October], Mr Medgyessy is to hold talks in Bangkok on the development of econmic relations between Hungary and Thailand.

MSZMP 'Alive and Well', Grosz Might Lead

Rally Criticizes HSP

LD1710044689 Budapest MTI in English 2154 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 16 (MTI)—The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] has never ceased to exist: its alive and well, and its 14th congress will be convened in the course of this year. The post of general secretary should be taken by Karoly Grosz. The founding of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] is a fact, but one unacceptable to HSWP members, who reject the decisions of the congress, it was said at Monday's meeting of HSWP activists in the party offices of Budapest's 13th District.

The rally was organized by representatives of the Marxist Unity Platform.

Robert Ribanszki, leader of the platform, emphasized that those who wish to make the HSWP continue to function are those who want to see the country advance. Socialism cannot be built without the Communists and the masses backing them. Reform cannot equal a denial of the past. The recent congress was the conference of a narrow elite of the party, where the interests of the party members were not vindicated.

It was not the HSWP which was newly founded, but, with the assistance of the delegates, the manipulation of the liquidating leadership led to the widhdrawal of the congress from the party, Mr Rabanszki said.

The HSWP must partilcipate in the next elections. If it can renew itself, it will regain respect and membership.

Mr Ribanszki also told participants about discussions held with Karoly Grosz, who said that he has no intention of becoming a member of the HSP, but intends to retain his HSWP membership. He wants to carry on his activity with the party that needs him most.

In conclusion, Mr Ribanszki announced that the Marxist Unity Platform had ceased its activity, and its membership, along wilth that of the HSWP, intends to work on the renewal and strengthening of the HSWP.

Grosz on Political Future

LD1710090189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] We were curious for the opinion of the person mentioned in our previous report. Gyorgy Szelkai, about 15 minutes ago, telephoned Karoly Grosz:

[Szelkai] Karoly Grosz said that he had heard about the aktiv session in the 13th district from us, although he added that he had not received an invitation to the

event. He reinforced his view that he does not wish to be a member of the newly formed Hungarian Socialist Party, but if there continues to be an Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], then he will be active in that. He himself, however, will not create a new party, and is thinking about whether to undertake a leading function if asked. His opinion is that many members of the MSZMP will stay away, and not join either the new party or the old one which has been declared to have ceased.

Karoly Grosz said that he receives an enormous number of letters and phone calls, and most are asking him for help to be able to adjust more easily in the changing internal political life.

FIDESZ Elects 13-Member Leadership, Program

LD1610022189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] Congress has ended with the adoption of a program. Jozsef Orosz and Attila Miklos Nemeth report.

[Orosz] The second FIDESZ congress has electred a new 13-member leadership and has adopted its election program. Next year it will field candidates in the parliamentary elections, and it has decided on the organization's organizational statutes. This is how the 2 and ½ day congress of the federation, which has 3,500 members, could be summed up in simple sentences.

FIDESZ's organizational and operational statutes declare that the federation is a national political youth organisation, so it has not transformed into a party. [passage omitted] The organization wishes to field candidates next year in the parliamentary elections, although one of the newly elected leaders of the organization stressed that it is necessary to strengthen the organization's rural groups, especially in eastern Hungary, where there is the largest number of constituencies; unfortunately, that is where FIDESZ has fewest members.

To a question from the radio, one of the leaders of the organization said that in his estimate, it would be possible to get five or six FIDESZ deputies into parliament. [passage omitted]

In their economic program, they stress that short-term consolidating steps—a radical curbing of inflation and a reprivatization of state enterprises—are necessary.

A 13-member board heads FIDESZ. From among the 21 nominees, Gabor Fodor, Zoltan Rockenbauer, Laszlo Koever, Tamas Deutsch, Zsolt Nemeth, Tamas Tirts, Jozsef Pajer, Peter Molnar, Istvan Hegedues, Tamas Wachsler, Zsuzsa Szerenyi, Gergely Barath, and Csaba Kristof received the most votes. [passage omitted]

The congress was greeted by Sandor Racz, chairman of the 1956 Greater Budapest Workers' Council. FIDESZ did not take a stand in connection with his candidacy for president of Republic. [passage omitted]

SZOT Chief Nagy Views HSP Congress, Results

Congratulates Chairman Nyers

AU1310124989 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 11 Oct 89 p 3

["Telegram to Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Rezso Nyers"]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Rezso Nyers!

I congratulate you on the occasion of your election as chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. I wish you strength and good health in your work and in achieving results that are in harmony with Hungary's interests.

I would like to express my hope that we will develop successful relations with the HSP, just like with any other party which, in its program and actions, accepts and strives to implement the political interests of the employees and pensioners represented by us.

At the same time, I would also like to express my hope that we will soon be able to know the position of the HSP on the trade union movement and the trade union efforts.

General Secretary Sandor Nagy, on behalf of the National Council of Trade Unions.

Budapest, 10 October 1989.

Gives Impressions

AU1710091389 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Oct 89 p 6

[Interview with SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy by Eva Terenyi: "One Can See its Two Wings Better Than its Body—We Do Not Compete for Anyone's Favors and We Do Not Have Prearranged Contacts"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] Hardly 72 hours have passed since the creation of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP], the legal successor to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Therefore, impressions are still new. Please sum up your impressions of this congress. This was the first question that the NEPSZABADSAG correspondent asked Sandor Nagy, chairman of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT], during a longer discussion.

[Nagy] I admit that for the time being I have mixed impressions. I think that this party tried to carry forward a series of previous problems, and it really did present some of these problems at this congress. This congress showed that the new party is open to building the structure for a pluralistic society. Important changes were made to the internal structure, set-up, and operation of the party so that—at least considering its statute—the will of the members should now be asserted within the party.

At the same time, I also think that this congress failed to carry forward similarly serious problems. I think that I am not alone in feeling, as many speakers expressed in their speeches, that this party took steps toward becoming a democratically operating organization and also failed to make its entire membership bring these problems to the surface. In other words, it failed to make the well-known political changes take place as a result of fundamental development. I see this problem a little like this: This congress resembled a bird whose two wings and head can be seen better than its body. [passage omitted]

[Question] Do you want to be member of the new party? What do you think the trade union members will decide, namely those who were members of the MSZMP?

[Nagy] I have not yet been able to find an answer to this question that is acceptable to me from all points of view. As a private individual, I would find it easier to decide. However, I have a trade union position, and thus, I cannot completely separate these two different "positions." At this point I must say again that, following this congress, one still cannot see the party's practical policy in a number of very important issues. How will the economy and the social policy answer to the very specific problems facing a large strata of employees? Will this party be able to follow its program of political values outlined at the congress and also to function as a party of the masses, capable of exercising massive influence, or will it become a more strongly intellectual, elite party by debating primarily principled and theoretical issues? Consequently, perhaps it will have less energy to solve practical and "earthy" problems that concern the average man.

Let me add another observation. If my answer to the question about party membership is negative, many people will immediately react by saying that, look, he does not want to advance with the reforms. If my answer is positive, other people will question my steps from other perspectives. One thing is certain: My decision will not be determined by these expected reactions. [passage omitted]

[Question] What do you expect from the new party: Can it contribute to easing the tension between the SZOT and the government leaders that has recently become particularly strained and to normalizing relations?

[Nagy] It is difficult to answer this question at this time. Concerning trade union-government relations, nothing has happened in recent days that would allow me to draw a conclusion that is different from those that I have drawn so far. The conflict and tension that have emerged in recent weeks and months continue to be present, despite our repeated declaration that we would like to negotiate, we want to negotiate, and we are striving to solve the conflicts. Of course, there is a change in that there is a great readiness by both the government and other partners to have a SZOT-government meeting and a meeting of the National Coordination Council as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

I would like to stress one thing and to do away with a misunderstanding. This trade union does not approach anyone and compete for their favors. We do not want to ask any political wagon for a ride, no matter what party it is carrying. However, we are honestly open to any political group or party which has honest intentions and whose political efforts greatly meet the trade union's efforts. This is also valid for the Hungarian Socialist Party. [passage omitted]

Nyers, Pozsgay Comment on HSP, Warsaw Pact

LD1510103989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Rezso Nyers expects that half, perhaps two third of the membership of the one time Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] will join the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP]. The chairman of the party has given a statement about this to a Japanese television company. Regarding the HSP congress, he said that short term compromises were made only in personnel questions which are only valid until the next congress.

Talking about international questions, Rezso Nyers said that sovereignty, the right to self defense, and securing independence have to be emphasized more also in the Warsaw Pact.

Imre Pozsgay has said also to a Japanese television company, that Hungary is thinking in terms of a European world which makes the two military blocks unnecessary.

Rajk Laszlo, one of the leaders of the Free Democrats was also given an opportunity to speak in Tokyo. The opposition politician hopes that the Alliance of Free Democrats will gain 20 percent of the votes at the elections and as a result if this, it will get into the coalition government. At the same time Rajk has said that if the communists will also get in the cabinet, the SZDSZ [Alliance of Free Democrats] will not participate in governing.

Nyers Talks on HSP Viability in Szolnok

LD1310212489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] For the time being Rezso Nyers is not sure whether the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP] will be fit for life, although he considers that the various platforms are on a common denominator politically. The HSP chairman, elected 5 days ago, talked about this in Szolnok.

He has again expressed his opinion that the decision to establish the Hungarian Socialist Party has come as a shock to the majority of HSWP members, but he added that they do not want to win over those sympathizing with the proletarian dictatorship to the new party either.

He said that the stance of the Hungarian Socialist Party regarding the trade unions, the agrarian policy, and local governments will be published soon.

Speaker Szuros Cited on Party Congress

LD1310210989 Budapest MTI in English 2001 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 13 (MTI)—"I was surprised at the prevailing mood of despondency and the reason might be that the past forty years have not given the opportunities for people to speak their mind. The congress also proved that political culture is not at an adequate standard in Hungary," said Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly, to MTI in Puspokladany, where as MP of the town, he attended a jubilee celebration of an institute for vocational training. He also said in reply to a question that his name had been proposed for the list of candidates for the presidium, and that he did not know why he had not been included in the list.

"I was not a member of the Political Committee in the Kadar or the Grosz period, and nor am I a member of the present Presidium. However, I feel that the public opinion recognises what I have done for the nation, and this is what matters most to me. I still believe that one should concentrate on the interest of the people and the nation, transcending the level of parties. It is highly probable that I will be temporarily carrying out the duties of the president of the Republic, which would be a great honour and a source of satisfaction to me. I wish to run in the parliamentary elections as I have been requested to do in my present constituency," said Mr Szuros.

'Cooperation Platform' Concluded Its Mission

AU1310134789 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Oct 89 p 5

[Interview with Laszlo Kemeny, one of the leaders of the former platform of congressional delegates "Cooperation Platform," by unidentified correspondent: "The Mission of the 'Cooperation Platform' Has Ended—Engaging in Politics to the Benefit of the Nation"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] Many people spoke about it as the surprise of the congress, namely that the "Cooperation Platform", which seemed to be the greatest platform promise at the congress, had to realize already on the first day of the congress that very few people had joined this movement.

[Question] Has the "Cooperation Platform" really collapsed?

[Kemeny] The goal of this movement, the essence of which was to save the party from collapse, was achieved at the congress after all: The party did not split into two. On the contrary, what happened was all that we represented: a reborn, new party has emerged.

[Question] You would say the same if hundreds of delegates had joined you?

[Kemeny] Yes, originally we started as a movement, and not as a platform, and we did not have a different program and statute proposal, and we did not campain to organize and nominate delegates. Our goal was to mobilize the party members and strengthen the party's backbone to prevent it from breaking before the congress. Thus, our mission ended with the congress. I also said this in my speech, and I added that the mission of our movement would end if the congress accept holding the party members together. [passage omitted]

Minority Party Figures Interviewed on Congress

LD0910132289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Interviews with representatives of parties attending Hungarian Socialist Party Congress by correspondents Gyorgi Kiraly and Janos Simko in Budapest on 9 October—recorded]

[Text] [Interviewer] The Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Party has adopted the most important documents which actualy can form the basis of the founding of a new party. How do you evaluate the 2 and ½ days which actually decided on the fate of a party?

[Sebestyen] Very many compromises were made and the actual result of this compromise is that this party has preserved its unity and its legal continuity with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party.

[Interviewer] That was the opinion of Dr Tamas Sebestyen, on behalf of the Social Democratic Party. What are the points of the program statement which you can associate with?

[Sebestyen] This socialist party has also undertaken a lot of values which can be called social democratic values. I cannot judge, how much of them it will be able to achieve. However, it is always the membership which determines the character of the party. This party, as Rezso Nyers has also referred to this, also counts reform communists amongst its members. This, in my view, will be able to determine fundmentally the performance of the party.

[Interviewer] Csaba Varga, on behalf of the Hungarian People's Party, how do you evaluate the past 2 and ½ days?

[Varga] One shudders at the thought of what happened. Those functionaries of the party state, who even a year or two ago possesed absolute power and crushed all new thoughts and plans, and who were the sworn enemies of the changes of today, these people perhaps will be ousted from power for good. Thus, the most important thing is, what will this new party leave behind and now what is it going to represent. Perhaps we can be confident that it will put an end to the party state for good, and will put an

end to that in Hungary, where there was a very hard dictatorship, although with liberal tints.

If this party could decide positively at least on the question of the Workers' Guard, that is to decide to disband it, and it would be willing to give an account of the party assets and to give a larger part of them back to society, this could already be two of those signals, which, in our view, are correct.

[Interview] Dr Karoly Vigh, representative of the Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Society, to what extent do you consider this new party to be viable, and at what point can you imagine an alliance with it?

[Vigh] I am not so optimistic as regards the party's current situation and future, because to our knowledge, there is not full unity in the very important matters between the leaders who are worthy of consideration. Well, you know the figures and personalities who are present at the Congress and who will also be present in this party in the future. This does not amount to a guarantee that this Socialist Party will be the kind of party—no matter how very good the program statement is—in order for it to be possible in the future to imagine a joint rallying of forces with the opposition democratic parties, for the coming about of a genuinely democratic Hungary.

[Interview] I do not know whether Dr Tibor Fuzessy has managed to consult with his party associates about what has happened here in the congress centre, in the past 2 and ½ days.

[Fuzessy] Today is the third round. I feel that it again has yielded a victory for the reform forces, since in the final analysis the party's basic statutes and the party program statement were adopted with a large majority.

[Interview] Are these phrases, passages in the program statement or in the basic statutes with which you, the Christian Democrats, cannot accept anything in common?

[Fuzessy] We feel that the issue of the party's leaving the workplaces and the issue of party property are closely pertinent to the issue of equal opportunity. I, on my part, feel that they swept these under the carpet a bit. I feel that one of the most difficult problems of the new party is how will it be able to debar, detach those from whom the reform-statements are not voiced in a convincing manner?

First Free Democrat Rep to Parliament

LD1410185589 Budapest MTI in English 1809 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—Dr Eva Balla, an MP from Budapest, has joined the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD), and has thus become the first AFD representative in Hungarian parliament.

The Council of the Alliance of Free Democrats elected the MP an honorary member at its session held in Budapest on Saturday, and has prepared credentails for her for parliamentary work.

Democratic Forum Holds Meeting Prior to Assembly

Issues Economic Policy

LD1510182389 Budapest MTI in English 1750 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—The economic policy programme of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) holds it important to broaden the proprietary strata of society, strengthen the lower middle and middle classes, and support voluntary communities at the places of residence and employment. The programme was made public at a forum in Szombathely on Sunday, one week before the national meeting of HDF.

The document states that the bureaucratically organized economy proved unworkable and could not offer a future for broad strata of society. A strict market-based economy, however, would enrich only a narrow group but impoverish the majority.

The HDF programme seeks to make it possible for broad strata of society to gain property. It advocates the free alliance of individuals, and the establishment of self-governments. This concept of a third road, that of a social market economy, would protect those who are temporarily hit by the indispensable ownership reforms.

Proposes Fur for Presidency

LD1510213889 Budapest MTI in English 2012 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—The presidium and board of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) and the presidents of the provincial organizations held a meeting in Budapest on Sunday.

The presidium proposed that HDF should nominate Lajos Fur, member of the presidium, for the post of the president of the Republic provided that the national HDF meeting, to start next Friday, votes in favour of nomination. The proposal was approved by the board and the presidents of the provincial organizations.

Tokyo Paper To Publish Kosa 'Qualifying' Letter

LD1510213189 Budapest MTI in English 2002 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 15 (MTI)—YOMIURI SHIMBUN will publish a qualifying letter of Ferenc Kosa, member of the HSP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium, Mr Kosa and Motoike Shigeo, chief European correspondent of the paper, agreed after listening to tape recording of the interview in the presence of Yoriayashu Hiroyuki, first secretary of the Japanese Embassy in Budapest. Mr Shigeo promised that Mr Kosa's letter

would be carried, with eventual abbreviations but without any distortion, in the next issue of the paper.

As reported earlier, Mr Kosa gave an interview to the Japanese paper after the HSP Congress. When the interview was published, Mr Kosa protested with the editor-in-chief because the content of the interview had been distorted. After that, the parties agreed to listen to the tape recording in common.

Red Star on Parliament To Be Switched Off

AU1610145289 Budapest MTI in English 1923 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, 12 Oct (MTI)—The head of parliament's office has ordered that the light illuminating the red star on top of Parliament be switched off on Thursday [19 October], the office told MTI.

Switching off the light is in line with the government decision of October 4 which says that public state buildings should carry only state symbols. The red star is expected to be removed in the first half of 1990, since safe removal will be a complicated technical operation requiring specific arrangements. The head of the office is to summon in the near future all the organizations and private individuals who have offered to do voluntary work at the removal.

The parliament's office has made a statement requesting the understanding of citizens and expressing the hope that carrying the government decision into effect will assist national consensus and a peaceful transition to parliamentary democracy.

Government Spokesman Interviewed on Reforms

AU1010161789 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Oct 89 p 4

[Interview with Zsolt Bajnok, "spokesman for the government of the Hungarian People's Republic," by Col Engineer Veselin Stoyanov, NARODNA ARMIYA reporter: "Along the Road of Reforms"—in Budapest, date not given]

[Excerpts] It was conceived that the meeting was to be a classical interview with questions and answers. An aide to the governmental spokesman ushered us to the Parliament building. From her I understood that Zsolt Bajnok, 57 years old, is also the chief editor of MAGYAR HIRLAP.

When I entered his office my plan fundamentally changed. It turned out that in his youth my interlocutor had worked as a teacher, and perhaps because of that he knows how to immediately find the correct approach towards people. [passage omitted]

I shall briefly note, Zsolt Bajnok said at the beginning of our conversation, that the first wave of reforms began in our country during the 1953-56 period and basically affected agrarian issues. The second wave began in the mid-1960's. As of 1 January 1968, Hungary's entire economy was based on new principles of management: independence of enterprises and cost-accounting. However, a few years later the negative tendencies began to increase. They coincided with the energy crisis and the sharp increase of oil prices. At that time the development of market relations did not spread to the sphere of capital, securities, and labor power. Signs of stagnation, as well as unforeseen difficulties, emerged and our economy found itself in critical condition. The foreign debt, the state budget deficit, the obsolete structure of industrial production, which had exhausted its possibilities a long time ago, the insolvent investment policy, and the rather slow reaction to changes in scientific-technical progress were the main reasons which produced that situation....

[Stoyanov] If you see the shortcoming so clearly, I suppose that the correct road that will lead the country out of its difficulties will be found. Figuratively speaking, what are the "underwater stones" [pitfalls] along this road?

[Bajnok] It is our goal and main duty to learn from our own mistakes and to develop a policy that will lead toward lasting achievements and results. In the process of democratization that is developing, we want to strengthen the feeling of the regular workers that they are also owners, and thus increase their responsibility toward the public means of production. Our practice until now shows that people manage best when they feel that they are the owners not only in the private, but also in the public sector. [passage omitted]

Our economy can develop successfully only if it maintains close relations with CEMA because the USSR is our most important partner, while the other socialist countries occupy a substantial place in our trade. Simultaneously, I categorically think that CEMA needs to dynamically modernize and open toward other parts of the world. The EEC countries are much more effective in this respect.

The well-thought-out transition toward payments in foreign currency could become a positive element. We fully understand that in the beginning this will cause a significant decrease in the standard of living, however, there is no other way of more effectively including our economies in the world market. Our economic policy will be directed more actively toward the West and the "Third World." We shall perfect the existing ties and create new and more effective relations with them. We also encourage foreign capital investments and establishing joint enterprises in our country.

In the political sphere we also are called upon to develop and enrich relations between our countries and to march in an even, closely rallied formation toward the common goal: the construction of the socialist society. The

Warsaw Pact also need modernization. This organization must be brought in line with the requirements of the new political thinking and the idea of the common European home.

[Stoyanov] In conclusion, would you like to commit yourself with a forecast for the forthcoming elections?

[Bajnok] This is an equation with many unknowns. Many people have asked me the same question, especially foreign colleagues, and occasionally, I joke and answer that I have played the sports lottery for many years, but I have never won. This means that I do not have the talent to forecast things. As you know, we are preparing for the transition to a multiparty system, and how the forces will be divided under that system is a big question. The coming weeks and months will be especially important and decisive. It is my personal opinion that the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, or the party that will inherit it under a changed name, enjoys a broad social basis at the moment and has the necessary forces and possibilities to play an important role in the new government that will be founded as a result of the elections. [passage omitted]

Party Cells in Army To Cease by Order

LD1610092489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] [Presenter] This week, inter alia, the bill on parties will be put in front of the National Assembly. However, the defense minister's order on the possibility of party organizing ceasing within the army is already awaiting signature. Zoltan Sipos knows all this from Defense Minister Ferenc Karpati:

[Begin recording] [Karpati] It is stated in the bill that the party organizations should not operate in the Hungarian People's Army, but they should be organized outside the army.

[Sipos] Will you personally give an order for the party organizations to cease?

[Karpati] Naturally, it is already prepared. Directly after the adoption of the law, the minister has to take measures that this should be regulated properly and completely carried out in order. On the other hand, it raises a lot of questions as to how to make sure that this will be observed. A great many things will have to be regulated compared to former practices.

Police Establish Independent Trade Union

LD1410211989 Budapest MTI in English 2003 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Budapest, October 14 (MTI)—The Independent Police Trade Union was set up in Budapest on Saturday. At the session, organizers said the work and responsibility of the police has increased in the wake of the political and social changes, however, their moral appreciation and financial recognition have declined in the past period. They did not have a social interest protection organization to date, and the independent trade union wishes to make up for this. Its programme includes to improve wages and increase moral recognition. The founders of the trade union stressed they cannot utilize several fundamental rights, including the right to strike.

The new independent trade union was welcomed by representatives of the trade union of the public employees and the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions. Both organizations have offered assistance to the new interest protection organization, and have called on it for cooperation.

Some Business Success Tied to Organized Crime

AU1110172189 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Oct 89 p 7

[Article by Gyula Mezovari: "Apparently Honest Businessmen—Their Profession: Criminals"]

[Excerpts] There are not many of them, but they are very strong. They have no unfulfilled desires and needs, and they are up to the job; they act methodically day in, day out. They work thoroughly and with a clear division of labor. They create splendid living conditions for themselves. Suspecting nothing, people living on wages and salaries, who fulfill their demands legally and thus with great efforts, admire these people who are heading upwards without encountering any obstacles. From the outside, they appear to be honest businessmen, worthy of envy. Their profession: organized crime.

According to various estimates, 200 people make up the "elite" in Budapest, and 2-3,000 people make up the "hard core" which is closely connected with the "elite." They are responsible for some 1,5 percent of all crimes. Unfortunately, this proportion is considerable, also compared with international standards. The circle of executors, the "circle round the moon" keeps changing in size, in accordance with the special demands. [passage omitted]

Of course, elements of organized crime have been present for decades in domestic prostitution, for example, and in the relations among the connected parasitic people, like the relations between thieves and receivers, and between smugglers and profiteers. [passage omitted]

Organized crime based on foreign infiltration was concentrated in the hands of former Hungarian citizens who emigrated to Vienna, Munchen, and California. It is also a disreputable honor for us that Hungarians perfected one type of credit card fraud which is still quite profitable. It is almost impossible to forge a credit card with a strong financial backing, and therefore the "Hungarian

method" is to steal one somewhere in America and immediately fly over to Europe and buy everything in large quantities, from videos to coffee machines, and pass this to tradesmen in Vienna who will take the merchandise to some Hungarian small store owners in Vienna.... [passage omitted]

There is a relatively high proportion of latent criminals in this branch, and there is scant possibility of proving these crimes. The struggle against this demands new ideas and a quite different approach from the conventional activity of criminal investigation. [passage omitted]

More Reportage on GDR Refugees in FRG Embassy

Awaiting Exit Documents

LD1610124489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1205 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] About 1,300 GDR citizens are awaiting departure at the FRG Embassy in Warsaw. Today, the first group of them is to receive at the GDR Embassy special documents to enable them to leave for the West.

'Humanitarian' Solution Sought

LD1610115189 Hamburg DPA in German 1111 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Falko Schreiber, first secretary at the GDR Embassy in Warsaw, said in a telephone conversation with DPA that the whole idea of resolving the problem "in a humanitarian and pragmatic way" was an initiative from the GDR. He assured that "the operation will last as long as proves necessary". Schreiber went on to say that the exodus itself would take place in coordination with the Polish Government and the Federal Republic's Embassy.

The GDR citizens will come to the GDR Embassy in groups and will personally hand in their identity cards. Then they will receive the necessary documents "with which they can exit unimpeded to the FRG or any country they wish without touching GDR territory", the GDR representative said.

Today the first 50 or so GDR citizens will probably receive their exit documents. It is still unclear whether the first group will leave Poland the same day.

Exit Papers Received

LD1610174589 Warsaw PAP in English 1623 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 16—The first group of 1,400 GDR refugees staying here are reported today at the GDR Embassy to receive papers allowing them to emigrate to a chosen country.

GDR Ambassador to Poland Juergzn van Zwoll told journalists that the papers will be issued gradually. Today some 50 persons are to receive them.

Exit Procedures Outlined

LD1610223689 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 16—The first group of GDR refugees from among 1,400 now in Warsaw entered the GDR Embassy to receive certificates renouncing their citizenship and identification documents which enable them to leave Poland.

GDR's ambassador to Warsaw Juergen van Zwoll told reporters: "We are now beginning an operation which had been agreed between the governments of the GDR, Poland and the FRG. Each of those entering our embassy earlier applied to surrender GDR citizenship. The applications have already been examined and on this basis we are issuing respective certificates. Each one of them will also receive an ID document so that he can prove who he is. This will enable the to-date GDR citizens legal departure."

The ambassador stated that the procedure of leaving Poland was an issue regulated by Poland and the FRG Embassy, adding that transit through the GDR was impossible. "Everyone who turns up will be treated the same way. This is a temporary solution but will be applied as long as is necessary. A present there are about 15 people in the embassy and 49 in three groups overall," Van Zwoll said.

Asked whether only 50 people will be able to have their applications proceeded daily while there are 1,400 refugees at present, the ambassador stated: "We are interested in speeding up this operation but this does not depend solely on us. Verification in the GDR is necessary. We cannot allow some murderer to leave, for instance." Asked whether this also pertained to people who crossed the "green border", Van Zwoll said: "A solution will be found also in this case."

The date of the departure of the refugees is not known yet. The FRG Embassy is taking care of the matter of the departure of former GDR citizens at present, PAP reporter.

DPA on Refugee Plane

LD1710115689 Hamburg DPA in German 1135 Gmt 17 Oct 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The first aircraft carrying GDR refugees will take off this evening at about 1930 in Warsaw. According to a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry in Bonn, the plane, belonging to the Polish airline LOT, is to land at about 2115 in Duesseldorf.

The number of passengers will depend on the number of exit papers issued by the GDR authorities in Warsaw. He expects that 120 refugees or so will be on board. There are no plans for a second aircraft to leave this evening.

Geremek Views Developments in GDR, Reunification

AU1310112589 Hamburg BILD in German 13 Oct 89 pp 1,4

[U. Rosenbaum report: "Poland Not Concerned About Germany's Unity"]

[Text] Warsaw—The Poles are not concerned about a reunified Germany. There is enough room for that in a Europe that is growing together, says Professor Bronislaw Geremek, Solidarity group leader in the Polish Parliament, in a BILD interview.

BILD: The movement for democracy has also achieved initial successes in the GDR. How do you view these developments?

Geremek: I think that the urge for freedom and democracy in this part of Europe cannot be stopped and is irreversible. This movement began with Solidarity in Poland and Gorbachev's policy in the USSR. I hope that this process will spread to all East European countries.

BILD: Are you optimistic?

Geremek: I am convinced that what is happening in the GDR is the beginning of a good road which is making all political sides in this part of Europe hopeful.

It is good for the Soviet Union, good for Poland, and good for the Germans in the GDR.

BILD: Even if it were to lead to reunification? Would a bigger Germany not represent a threat to Poland?

Geremek: German arrogance and expansionism once was a threat—not only to Poland but to all of Europe. However, the Germans have paid for it with their division. They know too well what the price for such a policy would be to repeat such a thing. The Germans should have the right to decide themselves whether they want reunification. In a Europe that is growing together, there is room for two German states, but there is also room for a reunified Germany that the neighbors would not have to be afraid of.

BILD: Your friend Lech Walesa said in his talks with Hans-Jochen Vogel, chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, that developments in the GDR should not go too fast, because otherwise things in Europe might get out of control.

Do you share this opinion?

Geremek: I understand Walesa. However, I believe that the GDR is still a long way away from what is happening in Hungary, Poland, and under Gorbachev. Its close economic relations with the Federal Republic have helped keep this regime in power so long without democratization.

Rakowski, Gorbachev Hold Talks in Moscow

AU1610124889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Rakowski-Gorbachev Meeting"]

[Text] Moscow—Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, first secretary of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee, paid an official visit to Moscow at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. The highlight of this visit was Wednesday's meeting with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

Asked by journalists witnessing the two party leader's initial warm meeting what he would like to tell the Poles, M. Gorbachev said, among other things: I would like to tell the Poles that we wish to continue that which has been established in our relations since the war, especially in the most recent years, and even, I would say, since 1980. I think our relations have not been just formal and that we have not just been conducting economic cooperation, but genuine cooperation between our parties has taken shape—cooperation in culture, and cooperation between our scholars involved in the social sciences and in investigations into the past and present. I would like all this to continue. Those are our intentions, and life itself will confirm them.

The Soviet leadership maintains a consistent stance on and is in favor of an expansion of relations with Poland, our neighbor, a Slavonic people; especially because after many vicissitudes in our relations, we have embarked upon the right path—a path of rapprochement between our peoples, a path of cooperation. I am in favor of continuing that.

For the Poles and myself, I wish that we may overcome all the difficulties.

After the 3-and-1/2 hour meeting between Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and Mikhail Gorbachev, it was said that during a friendly talk the two leaders had discussed a broad range of issues connected with the socioeconomic and sociopolitical processes taking place in Poland and the USSR, the development of relations between the two fraternal parties, and the future prospects of Polish-Soviet relations.

M. F. Rakowski presented the situation in Poland since the Sejm and Senate elections and the formation of the new government. He said that the chief national task now is to lift the country out of the protracted socioeconomic crisis.

The PZPR itself is experiencing a difficult time, said M. Rakowski. Heated debates on its role in society during the formation of democratic parliamentarism are taking place. The forms and methods of party work are being revised, and ideological and organizational renewal is occurring. The PZPR first secretary spoke about the outcome of the 15th PZPR Plenum and the preparations for the 11th PZPR Congress.

M. Gorbachev spoke about the wide-scale continuation of the implementation of the political, economic, and legal reform. Since the September CPSU Plenum's adoption of a party platform on nationality issues, there are favorable conditions for a development of the Soviet federation and a normalization of nationality relationships in the country.

The work of the USSR Supreme Soviet is of particular importance now. Its agenda contains the adoption of a series of constitutional instruments.

We attach major importance to the reform of the party, said the Soviet leader. A major renewal of all its structures and a change in the style of work await us as part of the preparations for the 28th CPSU Congress, which is still 1 year ahead.

There was a rich exchange of views between M. F. Rakowski and M. Gorbachev on problems involved with social development today. One of these problems is the

fact that a party should possess a strategy that is future-orientated. A lack of such a strategy or a failure to work one out can lead to serious misfortunes and errors. On the other hand, radical expectations that a party should possess a detailed plan of future action are unjustified.

Another subject discussed during the talks was the need to adhere to national interests in today's times, and at the same time overcome any manifestation of nationalism. The entire development of Europe and the world at the close of the 20th Century illustrates a growing trend toward an international economy and international social life, and reveals increasing importance attached to the division of labor, cooperation, and an exchange of cultural and spiritual values. The ideals of socialism fully conform to these objective processes.

Both sides devoted much attention to the prospects of Polish-Soviet relations. The foundations of these relations which, in the opinion of the PZPR and CPSU leaders, are immune to political fluctuations, contain a communion of the fortunes and basic geostrategic interests of Poland and the Soviet Union. Joint activity between Poland and the Soviet Union in the Warsaw Pact is one of the chief components of European peace and stability.

M. Rakowski stressed the importance of mutual cooperation for the sake of the national interests, security, and development of Poland.

Our country, said M. Gorbachev, will aim toward a further expansion of comprehensive and mutually advantageous contacts with Poland in every sphere. We insist that our relations are capable of developing fruitfully while at the same time respecting each country's sovereignty and equality, and the choice made by each people.

Rakowski Holds Moscow News Conference

AU1610171189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 12 Oct 89 pp 1,5

[Report by Wieslaw S. Debski, TRYBUNA LUDU Moscow correspondent: "The PZPR First Secretary: The Creator of Perestroyka Understands Our Situation and Policy"]

[Text] In the hall of the press center of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, Mieczyslaw Rakowski met with Soviet and foreign journalists, answering numerous questions for 1-and-1/2 hours.

Sharing his impression of the visit, he stressed that the exchange of views with M. Gorbachev was a continuation of previous talks between the two leaders.

I wish to say, said the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] first secretary, that my partner in the talks displays complete understanding for the situation in our country. He wants to understand it, that is why he is carefully listening to what we have to say. The creator of perestroyka displays complete understanding for the complex situation in our country. He agrees with the political line that we have adopted. He openly admits that these events are being carefully analyzed by the Soviet leadership. He even used the expression "experiment."

A new balance of political forces is emerging in Poland, which bears certain consequences for the party and for all the forces that are taking part in shaping this situation. Gorbachev fully approved of our policy vis-a-vis the Mazowiecki government, according to which we give first place to the nation's interests and support this government in every action that is meant to lift Poland out of the economic crisis.

As far as relations with the Soviet Union are concerned, we are devoting our entire friendship and experience in this field to the pursuance of the goal that I have just mentioned—the welfare of the nation, M. Rakowski said. We believe that, thanks to the Soviet leadership's support, we will be able to expand and enhance this good cooperation in future as well.

We have established concrete forms of cooperation, and I am very pleased that we are in a period when I can expect support in Moscow for my ideas, which has not always been the case.

Next, M. Rakowski answered questions from journalists, including two from TRYBUNA LUDU.

"T.L.": How is the new balance of political forces in Poland affecting our relations with the Soviet Union, and how will it do so in future?

[Rakowski] T. Mazowiecki publicly declares his readiness to discharge all the commitments of previous governments concerning Polish-Soviet relations. If this declaration is adhered to, then there is no doubt that Polish-Soviet relations will remain at the same level as in the past.

This is a new situation for the Soviet comrades. Nevertheless, they are basing their policy vis-a-vis Poland on the same principles as before. Today I heard from M. Gorbachev's lips that the USSR will remain faithful to its earlier commitments, and will adhere to them.

I think Polish-Soviet relations should be separated from interparty relations, in the sense that Polish-Soviet relations possess national significance and should remain at the center of attention, regardless of who runs the government. This is obvious to anyone who thinks in terms of national interests.

I would also like to point out that our eastern border has never been so free of tension as during the past 45 years. I think only someone bent on suicide would want to alter that situation.

Historians may make various assessments of the Polish left wing, the ideological formation to which I belong. But there is one thing they will not be able to deny—the fact that we have brought about peace and friendship along this border. From the point of view of the nation's interests and its feeling of security, this is a historic achievement.

"T.L.": Did you brief your partner in the talks on the debate about the future of the party? How did Gorbachev react to it?

[Rakowski] Of course I presented the CPSU chief with my point of view on what is happening in our party. Even though he is acquainted with the processes occurring in Poland, he listened to me with enormous interest. From his reaction, it emerges that he considers these transformations to be historically justified.

Realizing the differences between our states and peoples, Comrade Gorbachev stressed during our talks the expediency of cooperation between our parties in seeking the kind of solutions that serve the needs of today.

Here are further questions and answers:

[Question] Following these talks, can one expect a Polish-Soviet declaration about Katyn?

[Rakowski] This problem was raised. I am against the use of tragic events of the past as a political game, for the purpose of arousing unnecessary emotions. I believe that the Soviet comrades will find an answer to all the questions that concern the drama of Katyn. I base my faith, among other things, on the fact that the Soviet comrades have shown that they are not evading difficult problems. I am calmly waiting for them to place a dot over the "i."

[Question] What do you think of the conversion of the communist party into a social democratic one?

[Rakowski] One thing is sure, that a conversion is taking place. But it is difficult to say right now whether the development is toward a social democratic party. If so, then what kind of social democratic party? A party like the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany]? Or like similar parties in Austria or Sweden? The concept of social democracy varies very widely today. I understand that those who advocate a development in this direction have in mind the need to place greater emphasis on democracy. I think that, on the basis of the political differences between the East and the West, the Hungarian and Polish parties will seek their own original solutions.

The essence of these transformations today is a departure from the type of communist party established in the 1920's and 1930's on the basis of the ideology of the Third International. That is the essence of the transformations.

[Question] How will relations between the PZPR and CPSU develop?

[Rakowski] They cannot affect relations between the two countries in any way. As a party, we will see to it that Poland respects all its political, cultural, and economic commitments.

As far as the quality of interparty work is concerned, we acknowledged that it should be improved and new forms of it sought. It is obvious that the PZPR is the CPSU's closest force in Poland.

[Question] What do you think of the first steps made by the Mazowiecki government?

[Rakowski] I ought to be very careful when making an assessment. Remember that I was premier in the previous government, and I can always be accused of being biased.

There is one thing that can be said. Once the new ministers had settled into their ministerial armchairs, they encountered a harsh reality that turned out to be different from the one they had experienced before their appointment. My saying of previous years—"reality, gentlemen, reality"—has been confirmed.

[Question] In what way can the party support the Mazowiecki government? Would it not be appropriate for it to go completely into opposition in future?

[Rakowski] The PZPR is a major force on the Polish political landscape, therefore our attitude toward the government's policies is not insignificant. Also of great importance is the fact that hundreds of thousands of good cadres, and I repeat good cadres, belong to the party. Therefore there are many possibilities of supporting the government. Should we go into opposition? Let us try out the present set-up.

Without the PZPR's support, the former opposition, in other words our present partners, will not be able to perform the tasks that face Poland. The saying that there are two chief political forces in Poland—the PZPR and "Solidarity"—is not a piece of propaganda. It is the truth.

Soviet Weekly Interviews Mazowiecki on Relations

LD1110201789 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] If I were visiting Moscow as premier I would thoroughly analyze our cooperation to form an objective view point, declared Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki in an interview for the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA weekly published in Moscow today.

Asked about his view about the possibility of financial and moral reparations for Polish citizens who were deported to the USSR between 1939-41, the premier replied that each and every fact which can contribute toward healing open wounds in our relations is of positive significance. What specific things can be done and how depend on mutual contacts, talks and discussions.

Speaking about the elimination of blank spots in Polish-Soviet relations, Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that official untruth has prevailed for many years. Now the obstacles have been removed. It is very important for people not to focus exclusively on a mutual exchange of grievances, as we are neighbors and no miracle is going to move Poland to the moon. That is the assumption we should proceed from in organizing mutual relations. I repeat, emphasized Premier Mazowiecki, no one is going to move us to the moon.

Walesa, Rowny Discuss Upcoming U.S. Visit

LD1310213189 Warsaw PAP in English 2027 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 13—Lech Walesa met here today with special counsellor to the U.S. President and secretary of state for arms control, Ambassador Edward L. Rowny.

At the beginning of the talk Ambassador Rowny said that they are expecting Walesa's visit in the USA and added that many people advocate granting greater assistance for Poland to make changes here stable.

Speaking about his planned visit to the USA, Lech Walesa stated: "We have such a situation here that my three-day absence would mean lack of responsibility on my part. Had anything happened in Poland, I would have been responsible for that. Besides, I am afraid that effects of the visit would fail to satisfy the public opinion...It seems that the situation in the country may calm down till that time, but let us wait."

During the meeting discussed were also disarmament problems. Said Lech Walesa: "Disarmament is an important issue, but we may disarm directly by reducing armies and we may disarm in another way by levelling differences in economic development and other that bear problems. Poland, in the van of changes, proposes that."

Lech Walesa and Ambassador Rowny exchanged also views on developments in Poland and the USSR, they talked about changes now under way in Poland and about various forms of assistance for this country.

Polish-U.S. Investments Agreement Signed

AU1610164989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14-15 Oct 89 p 3

[PAP report: "A Release of the Blockade"]

[Text] Marcin Swiecicki, minister of foreign economic cooperation, and Fred Zeder, president of the Overseas Private Investments Corporation (OPIC), signed a Polish-U.S. Government agreement on investments in Warsaw on 13 October. This agreement had already been negotiated and initialed in June.

OPIC acts on two fronts: first, to protect private investments against political risks; and second, to finance investments by American firms, thus permitting them access to new markets. OPIC grants medium- and long-term credits for investments by American firms, mainly for the purpose of expanding the agricultural, processing, fishery, and forestry industries; and increasing some services, such as hotels.

Fred Zener told journalists that the signing of the agreement is the first step in discharging the commitments that President Bush adopted at Hamtramck on 17 August, a step that can greatly help in Poland's economic clean-up. F. Zeder also said that he intends to dispatch the first team of investors to Poland around 6-10 November.

Marcin Swiecicki told PAP: People wonder why we are inviting foreign capital to Poland and giving it guarantees. One should realize that the average Polish worker and engineer produces three to four times less than his Western counterpart. This is not because of poorer skills or a reluctance to work. We need modern technology, and in order to purchase that, we need capital. If we succeed in attracting it to Poland, there is a chance that productivity in Poland will be comparable to that in the most highly industrialized countries.

Official Previews Upcoming Kohl Visit

LD1110092389 Warsaw PAP in English 1845 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—Can one already speak of a concrete date of the FRG chancellor's visit to Poland?—This is a question with which PAP turned to Mieczyslaw Pszon, the prime minister's special plenipotentiary for the preparation of Helmut Kohl's visit upon the former's return from Bonn.

"I must say that the date of November 10 which was also quoted in my statement for the daily DIE WELT had been proposed by the West German side. It is not the final date. The precise date can only be fixed by both governments. The one I mentioned seems, for instance, to collide with the commitments of Prime Minister Mazowiecki who will soon hold talks in Warsaw with the Swedish prime minister and then leave for a visit to Rome.

"I hope I will not disclose a major secret when I say that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's visit to Moscow is also in the course of preparations. Summing up: Considering the present state of preparations, it will be more adequate to say that the chancellor's visit will take place in the autumn of this year.

"The latest transformations: The outcome of the elections to the Sejm and the Senate, the taking over of government by the new team led by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, combined with all that which we do with a view to a fundamental restructuring of the Polish economic system, were received in the FRG not only with the utmost attention but were also interpreted as a declaration of Poland's real opening to the world.

"Financial-industrial circles of West Germany, motivated by rational thinking, had enough reasons not to show excessive haste in re-engaging themselves in the matters of the Polish economy. That the FRG resolved already now to sign an agreement re-scheduling the repayment, falling due in 1986-1988, of the debt guaranteed by the Bonn government and sums envisaged by three earlier agreements jointly totalling 2.5 billion marks, testifies to readiness to meet our needs halfway."

Q.: Is that all Warsaw can count on, or will the chancellor's visit to Poland provide an opportunity to make further arrangements expanding economic cooperation?

A.: Surely this is not all. But I would prefer not to speak about details for many things are not yet in perfect trim. This applies to the whole sphere of financial-economic problems, and in particular West German contribution to the 'avalanche' of agreements and arrangements in this regard.

"During the chancellor's planned talks in Warsaw the sides will discuss matters connected with German participation in the rescheduling of Polish debt to the west, both to the Paris and London Clubs. Bonn is ready to support our postulates filed with the International Monetary Fund. There will also be an opportunity to discuss West German assistance in the restructuring and modernization of our industry.

"The sphere of joint interest will also embrace problems connected with Polish debt to commercial banks and conversion of part of the debt into zloties which would make up a fund for the financing of various projects, for example serving environmental protection or restoration and care of historical monuments of European culture (German included) in the Polish territory.

"This among other things applies to reconstruction of the castle of Krzyzowa in Silesia, the meeting place of German opposition in the era of the Third Reich, to commemorative plaques to be placed on the houses of German writers: Hauptmann, Eichendorff, a plaque on the family house of Schumacher—postwar leader of West German social democracy. The latter project has been put forward by SDP Chairman Hans Jochen Vogel."

Q.: It seems that giving new impulses to the Warsaw-Bonn relations requires decisions not only in the economic sphere.

A.: "Certainly. This will be achieved with the help of political talks Helmut Kohl will hold in Warsaw. Work is under way on a joint declaration of intentions in which the West German side will reiterate its stand on many a basic problem concerning bilateral relations, in particular the Polish western border, CSCE decisions, etc."

Q.: One often says that the Polish side agreed to far-reaching concessions.

A.: "Obviously enough, every form of negotiations involves concession and compromises which stem from mutual services on the part of both sides. In this context one can say that we indeed met halfway some postulates of the West German side. Among these one should list the idea of creating a FRG consulate in Krakow and a Polish consulate in Hamburg, an institution holding the patronage over cooperation between young people from both countries (the so- called jugendwerk) or a FRG culture and scientific-technological information institute.

"One can also say that the new approach to matters connected with foundations or organizations willing to cultivate German culture and language among people of German descent is also a concession of its kind.

"I must do justice to by predecessor, the special plenipotentiary of the former cabinet of Prime Minister Rakowski, who managed to negotiate the shape of the majority of arrangements and agreements. Had it not been for that work, for seven rounds of Polish-FRG talks, my task would have been much more difficult and much more complicated."

Reportage on Sejm Meetings 13-17 Oct

Indexation, Judiciary Debated

LD1410010989 Warsaw PAP in English 2233 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, October 13—The Sejm held a meeting today focusing mainly on the government draft amendments to the indexation law and hitherto work on it in Sejm commissions. This topic will be continued this coming Monday.

The Sejm also held the first reading regarding the government draft law on the national judicial council.

Indexation

Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron was the first to address the Sejm (we have moved his address separately).

Deputy Maria Stolzman (OKP) [Citizen's Parliamentary Club] presented the to-date results of the work of three Sejm committees: of economic policy, budget and finance, social policy and legislative which prepared the draft law. She did not conceal the fact that their work was hampered by the very unclear text of the draft amendments. The committees therefore motion to the government to present more "easily understood" documents.

Discussions in the sub-committee set up to prepare the draft amendments centred on proposed sanctions for exceeding normative levels of remunerations and ways of calculating the index growth of wages. The sub-committee proposed to introduce changes in the government draft concerning three matters. One of these changes proposes not to enter the lowest wage to the law but instead to determine the general principle of arriving at this sum. The point is to not to change the law in case the index of price hikes changes, the representative of the committee pointed out.

Indexation turned out to be an unnecessary tool to say the least. The results, in its to-date form, became a catastrophe for the state and economy. The wage race at a time of falling production inevitably leads to a fall in the living standard. Also the current draft amendments go against sound economic solutions.

Discussion

Probably none of the sides of the "round table" envisaged the effects of indexation, stated Deputy Wieslawa Ziolkowska (PUWP) [Polish United Workers Party]. She did not agree with the argumentation that levelling indexation (compensating those with the lowest wages—ed.) in the proposed version was the best solution. In the name of the PUWP parliamentary floor group she addressed the government to present indexation in two variants which would allow economic units to divide indexation-related sums among their employees by themselves.

Speaking in favour of levelling indexation including corrections introduced by sub-committees, Deputy Maria Dmochowska (OKP Citizen's Floor Group) stressed that she was first and foremost being guided by social interest. The deputy stressed that the apprehensions of people as to their living standards can only be solved through social security ensured under law.

Deputy Jan Rajtar (United Peasant Party) [UPP] stated that the stand of the UPP floor group on amendments to the law was not unequivocally negative. One must acknowledge that the envisaged principles of indexation are more just than the present ones, he stated.

Indexation in the to-date form turned out to be a catastrophe for the state and the economy, stated Tadeusz Bien (Democratic Party) [DP]. In the name of the DP floor group I motion to repeal the Law on Indexation so that its effects be valid only till the end of the 3rd quarter.

Deputy Bonawentura Ziemba (PAX) stated that PAX deputies speak in favour of adopting the draft law though they share the view that one should not specifically determine the principles of calculating indexation.

Speaking in the name of the UCHS (Christian Social Union) floor group, Deputy Jerzy Hopfer stated that the caucus still thinks that despite its setbacks indexation should have its place. Overcoming the crisis cannot take place without a partial lowering of the living standard of society. One cannot at the same time allow those who excessively push up prices to get rich by this. The UCHS floor group favours the introduction of levelling indexation but opposes leaving the whole price sphere outside government control.

After these opinions, one of the deputies tabled a formal motion to make a break in the deputies' debate at this point. The Sejm adopted a motion to adjourn the debate on draft amendments to the Law on Indexation and to send it again to the committee. 205 deputies voted for the motion, 77 were against and 13 abstained.

Law on National Judiciary Council

Next, the Sejm resumed the first reading of the government draft law on national judiciary council, started at the previous session on September 29. Let us recall that then, after the justice minister had presented a substantiation to the draft law, the Sejm decided, in tune with the deputies' motion, that the deputies' debate would be held at the next meeting and sent the draft law to Sejm committees.

Sejm Deputy Janusz Szymanski of the PUWP was first to speak in this part of the debates. Adopting a stand on concrete proposals of legal solutions, the deputy recalled that the round table provisions envisaged that the president of the council of state or the current president would be chairman of the national judiciary council. Not agreeing with a proposal of authors of the draft law that the first president of the Supreme Court should become chairman of this council, the deputy proposed to convey rights to appoint people to this post to the president or to adopt a principle that chairman would be elected by the council.

Deputy Emilia Pogonowska-Jucha of the United Peasant Party decided that, apart from powers envisaged by the draft law, the council should also be empowered to express opinions on drafts of legal acts concerning the judiciary.

Deputy Anna Dynowska of the Democratic Party thinks that discussion on the draft of this law should be coupled with a debate on a comprehensive reform of the administration of justice. She said with a surprise that the draft law had not been presented to a small milieu of judges.

If the justice minister was freed from the duty to appoint judges, the same should apply also to the national defence minister. This would put the separate character of military courts in a new light. The National Judiciary Council should perform a function in the system of justice similar to the one performed by parliament in the state political system, Deputy Hanna Suchocka of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club said.

Public dissatisfaction focussed particularly strongly on the administration of justice, Deputy Szczepan Balicki of the PAX Catholic Association said. One can hardly forget numerous sentences passed to dictation, many of which have not been repealed up to the present day. That is why ensuring the independence of the courts became one of the leading postulates of all reformatory forces. The setting up of the national judiciary council should be an important factor of satisfying this postulate. On behalf of his floor group, the Sejm deputy voiced hope that the council would become an important factor of shaping humanitarian image of the administration of justice.

Deputy Stanislaw Dabrowski of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club cast doubt on the need for the existence of military courts under peace conditions. It seems that military courts should function only in war time, he said.

Deputy Jacek Szymanderski of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club suggested that the draft law in question should

provide for judges of military courts to become full-fledged members of the National Judiciary Council. The deputy deemed it also purposeful to abolish military courts in peace time.

The draft law does not arouse doubts as regards its technical aspects, but people ask what will happen to these judges who discredited themselves and stained their hands and conscience in the 1980s. However, I warn against the current of settling accounts. One cannot say that judges were only good or only bad, Deputy Edward Rzepka of the Citizen's Parliamentary Club said.

If words about judges who discredited themselves were uttered in this hall, one cannot forget also all these employees of the administration of justice subjected to a program in the 1980s. The restructuring of law and legal institutions must take place in a reasonable way, which guarantees its lasting character, Deputy Jozef Zych of the United Peasant Party stressed.

Justice Minister Aleksander Bentkowski adopted a stand on some topics of the deputies' debate. He defended the concept of entrusting the first president of the Supreme Court, rather than the president, with the chairmanship of the National Judiciary Council, although such were the round table decisions.

Bentkowski deemed a motion correct suggesting that the self-government of lawyers and legal counsellors should be represented in the council. He agreed also with these deputies who warned against verifying these judges who passed sentences during martial law. These are good lawyers and only bad law forced them to pass sentences being a stain on their conscience, he stressed.

The minister supported the concept to abolish military courts in the future. But they must function for the time being.

At this point, the Sejm ended its Friday debates and they will be resumed on Monday October 16.

Committees Disagree on Indexation

LD1510011289 Warsaw PAP in English
2144 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 14—33 deputies for, 2 against and 24 abstained in a vote in Sejm committees on draft amendments to the Law on Indexation.

These results illustrate the discrepancy of views and degree of uncertainty among deputies who pointed out during discussions that indexation, even in the changed form, is a bad solution, a necessary evil in the currently extremely difficult social and economic situation.

Such views were forwarded during the last joint meeting of three committees (economic policy, budget and finance, social policy, and legislative) here today.

The committees reviewed the draft point by point. A few further details, editorial changes and complements were introduced of which the chief one is a government correction clearly putting to detail the levelling nature of indexation. The point in general is for indexation payments for the third quarter to be granted only to those employees whose wages grew more slowly than prices.

The meeting of the three committees lasted six hours.

Debate Resumes 16 Oct

LD1610124389 Warsaw PAP in English
1124 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 16—The Sejm resumed today its debate and started reviewing the report by the Sejm committees on government draft amendments to the indexation law for 1989. The document was presented by Deputy Wieslaw Zajaczkowski of the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group. After that the deputies began a discussion.

On the agenda are deputies' questions as well as changes in the composition of Sejm committees.

Amended Law on Indexation Adopted

LD1610201389 Warsaw PAP in English
1807 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 16—After a long discussion, Sejm deputies adopted an amended law on indexation in tune with its first variant.

The adoption of this solution means that the rise in food prices would be indexed on the same scale as an increase in the remaining prices. 188 Sejm deputies voted for the amended law, 27 voted against and 133 abstained.

17 Oct Session Detailed

LD1710041889 Warsaw PAP in English
0037 GMT 17 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 16—The Sejm (lower house) today amended the Law on Indexation at the motion of the government and following discussions in Sejm committees where differences in opinion streched the Sejm's plenary meeting by one day.

Of the two variants on additional payments owing to growing food prices, presented to the committees, the Sejm chose the first one. This means that food price growth will be indexed on the same scale as the growth of prices of remaining articles.

Report of Sejm Committees

Deputy Wieslaw Zajaczkowski delivered a report compiled by the committees on the draft government law on indexation.

The committees made no objections to three issues basically changing the to-date law and, first of all, to the principle of equalizing indexation for the third quarter of this year which means that indexation-related pay rises will be granted only to those employees whose pays rose

at a lower rate than price index, that is price growth, did over the period in question.

The committees did not object to government-proposed additional fines to be imposed on enterprises which exceed indexation ceilings set by the law. However, those fines will be differentiated, depending on the amounts of exceeded payments and on pay levels in enterprises. The committees set a minimal pay similarly to the government draft in this respect.

The committees mainly argued about proposed full indexation of extras related to rises of prices for foodstuffs.

The Sejm introduced full indexation of rises of food prices for August and September. The government draft assumes an 80-percent equalization of food prices as is the case with other price rises. An amendment worked out by the committees envisaged a 100-hundred percent equalization of food extras.

However, the problem is that in case the second variant was adopted, it would be necessary to considerably increase family allowances—the Labour Minister stated—which would mean an additional expense of more than 1.7 trillion zlotys from the budget of the Social Insurance Company (ZUS). Moreover, the introduction of allowances of some 100 thousand zlotys on the average would completely ruin the pay structure in enterprises.

On the other hand, social reasons and pauperization of many Polish families are arguments in favour of full indexation of food extras. In this connection Deputy Zajaczkowski posed the following question to the labour minister: On what legal basis would indexation-related pay rises involve automatically a 13.1 million zloty-increase in family allowances?

In conclusion the deputy proposed to adopt the draft law and choose one of the two variants on indexation of food prices.

Minister Jacek Kuron's Answer

In reply to the question Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron stated that full compensation for rises in food prices will surely make the situation easier till the end of the year.

Irrespective of what decision we will make, employees will get this compensation, only later. Next, indirectly, this extra will be added to pays in the budgetary sphere and also to old age and disability pensions. However, the problem is family allowances, child care benefits and the like whose increases would just mean additional payment from the budget of about 1.7 trillion zlotys, Kuron said.

I would come out in favour of this solution even if it spoils the structure of pays as later on benefits would be much bigger than pays themselves. However, the situation is grave from the point of view of the state budget and therefore I am against this solution, Kuron added.

Deputies Discuss Indexation

Some six deputies took the floor in the discussion to present the stands of parliamentary floor groups as well as their own opinions and suggestions concerning the draft on indexation. Irrespective of their caucus membership, most deputies wanted to add to the law a provision on a monthly indexation of pays in the budgetary sphere. They pointed to the dramatic material situation of employees in health service, education and culture.

PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] deputies generally criticised the draft law as anti-motivating, confusing and aimed against enterprises. However, members of this caucus were allowed to vote according to their own views.

In turn members of the citizens' caucus stated that one should not send bills to the government now only a few weeks in office.

Democratic Party deputies decided to abstain from voting and said that the law was unnecessary and the problem of indexation should be solved by the government.

United Peasant Party deputies pointed out that the observing of the law may deepen inflation and have a negative impact on farming and food sector.

A representative of the Christian-Social Union floor group announced that the union's deputies would vote for the draft to manifest support for the confidence in Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government.

Deputies presented many concrete remarks and suggestions, proposing, among other things, to introduce a differentiated price index, depending on ceilings of pays, increase tax preferences for small enterprises or fully compensate for increased food prices.

Address by Vice-Premier Balcerowicz

The budget and market costs of indexation were discussed by vice-premier, Minister of Finance Leszek Balcerowicz. The minister said that the intention behind the government bill on indexation was to curb the outflow of empty money to the market.

He warned against the adoption of the second variant of compensation of price rises. This would mean the growth of payments from the budget by at least some 1.7 trillion zlotys. This would entail indirect consequences: The growth of wages in the material sphere would lead to the additional growth of salaries in the budget sphere by some one trillion zlotys. This would bring about an extra 3 trillion zlotys and thus affect the only-just-started stabilization of the food market.

In this connection the vice-premier firmly spoke in favour of the first variant.

Voting

In the voting on the two versions of indexation 229 deputies were for the first variant while 10 were for the second one.

All in all 188 deputies voted for the adoption of the whole text of the law amending the Law on Increasing Remunerations for Work and Farmers's Incomes in connection with the changes of retail prices of consumer goods and services in 1989 in the version drafted by three Sejm committees. 27 deputies were against and 133 abstained from voting.

Skubiszewski's Answer to Deputies' Interpelations

OKP [Citizens' Parliamentary Club] Deputy Ziemowit Gawski said in his interpelation concerning reparations for Polish war victims, that the ongoing transformations brought about new circumstances in which Poland could co-create the future of Europe, and stressed in that context the necessity for a genuine reconciliation and agreement between Poland and Germany. He said that an indispensable factor of that reconciliation process were reparations for the Polish victims of the war and added that they had not been obtained for 44 years.

In response, Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said that the Polish Government would support legal claims by Polish natural and legal persons to reparations for losses they suffered during the 2nd World War from enemy states that occupied the Polish territory during that war. Skubiszewski also spoke about "states" in plural while answering OKP Deputy Wieslaw Kowalski who was interested in reparations for those who suffered from the Stalinist system in the USSR.

Minister Skubiszewski recalled that the Potsdam accord on German reparations transferred Poland's claims to reparations due to the USSR, thus making it impossible for Poland to directly address the German state with her claims. In 1953, the Polish Government resigned the whole of them, that step being a clear sign of Beirut government's activity harmful to the state and the nation, Skubiszewski stated.

Skubiszewski said that Poland and Germany adopted completely different stands as to reparations for the victims to Nazism and that that difference continued to be total. Poland however does not give up raising this question, he added. Economic agreements to be signed during Chancellor Kohl's visit to Poland do not depend on Poland's giving up her claims, he said.

Referring to claims towards legal or natural persons in the GDR, Skubiszewski said that it was not a taboo topic and stated that the Polish Government supported such claims and did not make any difference between the two German states in this respect.

The lack of reparations for those who suffered during the war from lawlessness and violence is something ununderstandable to an ordinary man, Skubiszewski concluded.

The floor was again taken by Deputy Gawski who said that it was astonishing that Poles were systematically refused the right to reparations, and recalled that 50 years ago Poland was the first to say "no" to the insane ideology and paid a huge price for it. May all those, both in the East and the West, who keep counting so precisely interests on Poland's debts remember that they are Poland's debtors: both in moral and material spheres, he said.

Deputy Kowalski who spoke next said that one could not keep silent about a complete lack of reparations for those who suffered from the Stalinist system in the USSR where, in the years 1939-1945, some 2 million Poles were victimized and in the years 1939-1959 nearly 3.5 million Polish citizens were deported from their motherland. The question of reparations for them and their families continues to be topical, he said and added that the government should start negotiations on the matter.

Other deputies asked about reparations for victims of pseudomedical experiments performed by Nazis and for those kept in POW'S camps.

In response, Minister Skubiszewski said the question of Soviet reparations had been dealt with by the former government and added he spoke about the matter with a competent person in the USSR. "It is the question of time what we will gain," he said, "but we do not forget about the matter." Referring to reparations for victims of the pseudomedical experiments, Skubiszewski pointed to a report by the Supreme Board of Inspection NIK and reports by the so-called Grabski's Commission.

OKP Debates Indexation, Judiciary, Refugees

LD1310050789 Warsaw PAP in English 2301 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—Today's meeting of the OKP (Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group) was dominated by issues which will make up the agenda of tomorrow's Sejm plenary debates: amendments to the Law on Indexation and a draft law on the national judicial council.

Indexation

Speaking about the Law on Indexation, Deputy Ryszard Bugaj stated:

"Once again we face the need to make a decision in a short time, without a broader context of the government's income and price policy which still is not obvious and arouses controversies."

Just how little time there is was visible from the statement delivered by Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jacek Kuron: "The GUS (Main Statistical Office) is to announce the growth rate of prices constituting a basis

for indexation by October 20. If this matter will be protected in the Sejm, work establishments will pay out raises basing on principles stipulated in the previous law. Meanwhile the draft amendments aim to free plants from a need to payout immense amounts of empty money. Maintaining the hitherto principles of indexation would become a political mistake. [no closing quotation marks as received]

National Judicial Council

Vice Minister of Justice Adam Strzembosz stressed that the draft law on the National Judicial Council stems from a constitutional entry and the "round table" arrangements. It is however more radical than them because the council—under the draft—is to be an authentic body of judges' self-government and not a state body. The council is to motion for the appointment of judges of all courts, military inclusive. In connection with this deputy Jacek Szymanderski relayed the postulates of a group of military judges demanding such rights which would help them gain full judges' independence. In general, OKP deputies and senators stated that the draft deserves to become a law soon, agreeing that the depoliticalization of courts was one of its key values.

Mazowiecki to Address Council of Europe

The floor group heard reports on the latest foreign visits of OKP deputies and senators. Senator Janusz Ziolkowski, who recently attended the parliamentary assembly of the Council of Europe, announced that the Council's Commission for Culture and Education would hold a seminar in Warsaw in December, to be followed by a meeting of Economic Development Commission. At the end of January Premier Mazowiecki is to deliver a speech at a plenary meeting of the Council of Europe.

Strike in Goldap

Senator Zygmunt Romaszewski's report on the strike in the state farm in Goldap, north-eastern Poland, now in its 42nd day, gave rise to a heated exchange of views, centering on the director of the farm, Tomasz Romanczuk, a PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Sejm deputy. For the time being the floor group learned that in the wake of the OKP's intervention, a government-parliamentary commission has been set up and will leave for Goldap this Friday.

Thanks to Polish Section of BBC

On the 50th anniversary of the Polish section of radio BBC, the OKP floor group asked the presidium to relay cordial thanks to the section for genuine information, journalism and words of hope passed to Poles throughout the years.

GDR Refugees

In reply to a question put by Deuty Jan Rokita who expressed anxiety over he fact that 608 refugees from the GDR who tried to cross the Polish border illegally were turned back, Chairman of the floor group Bronislaw Geremek stated that he was promised by the government that this would never happen again and that no refugee from the GDR would be sent back to the country from which he escaped.

Miodowicz, Pensioners Protest Price Increases

LD1310134889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1303 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Several hundred people, not just from Warsaw but from other voivodships as well, took part in a protest demonstration in front of the Sejm building today. The protest was announced by the National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ]. In a petition handed to the Sejm speaker, the trade unionists and old-age and disability pensioners protested the avalanche of price increases for basic foodstuffs which is causing a drastic curtailment of consumption for a considerable section of the population.

Alfred Miodowicz, who took part in the demonstration together with the OPZZ leadership, said that if this continues, we will be faced with the threat of unrest in workplaces.

Tobacco Products' Prices To Increase 65 Percent

LD1510213489 Warsaw PAP in English 2040 GMT 15 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 15—A decision to raise retail prices of tobacco products by 65 per cent as of October 16 was made by tobacco producers in agreement with trading organizations, the Intertabac tobacco company told PAP.

Prices of imported cigarettes will go up by 70 per cent.

Bread, Cigarette, Car Prices Increase

LD1610201289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] And up go the prices again. This time bread baked by Spolem by 25 percent; flour as of today costs 1000 to 1,100 zloty per kilo; sugar in Krakow from 2,600 to 2,700 zloty. Cigarettes on average, are 70 percent more expensive. And new offical car prices: the Polonez is 20 million zloty but the little car [Polish Fiat 126] only 9 million. And so what: It's not worth learning about these prices either.

Rakowski Meets With PZPR Floor Group

LD1310042189 Warsaw PAP in English 2250 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] parliamentary floor group today awaited a meeting with PUWP CC [Central Committee] First Secretary Mieczyslaw Rakowski.

Rakowski arrived for the debates in the morning but announced that he could not stay as he had flu. In this situation CC Secretary Wlodzimierz Natorf—who was in Moscow with Rakowski—reported to the deputies on the talks with Mikhail Gorbachev during the Moscow visit of the PUWP CC first secretary.

The deputies inquired about the situation and matters of Poles in the USSR. They next asked whether renegotiations were tackled concerning Poland's long-term economic agreements, in the CMEA inclusive. The deputies also asked whether there was a proposal to do away with "September 17th" street names in cities of the western republics of the Soviet Union.

Natorf pointed out that the Polish side motioned for a stop to observances of September 17 as the date of unification of the Ukraine and Belorussia. He went on to say that a whole package of issues was forwarded to the Soviet side: 1939, Katyn, compensation, rehabilitation, exchange of cultural goods.

Natorf also drew attention to a certain incohesiveness which is taking shape in Polish-Soviet economic relations between enterprises and respective ministries. There are reports that construction contracts which Poles execute in the USSR are being broken. These matters must be settled still before the visit of Premier Mazowiecki in the USSR which should take place as early as November, the CC secretary said.

During the debates, the PUWP floor group elected its 35 members to the congressional commission preparing the 11th PUWP Congress.

PZPR International Commission Meets 13 Oct

LD1310202689 Warsaw PAP in English 1826 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 13—The International Commission of the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee [CC] held a meeting here today attended by PUWP CC Secretary Wlodzimierz Natorf and deputies from the PUWP parliamentary floor group. The commission discussed programmatic assumptions for the party's international activity as part in preparations for the 11th PUWP Congress.

The discussion covered both the questions of the PUWP's approach to essential problems of the contemporary world and its particpation in Polish foreign policy constituting materialization of the Polish reason of state. Much attention was given to prospects for PUWP's broader contacts within the international communist and workers' movement, with socialist and social-democratic parties, with other progressive parties and movements.

Members of the commission were briefed on the course and results of the meeting of the CC secretaries for international affairs from the brotherly parties in Varna and on the meeting of CC secretaries for ideology in Berlin.

PZPR Spokesman on 10 Oct Politburo Meeting

AU1310171389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Oct 89 pp 1, 2

[PAP report: "Continuing the Previous Government's Work to a Great Extent"]

[Text] The Central Committee press spokesman states: At its 10 October meeting the Politburo conducted a preliminary examination of the main directions of the government economic program as set out at the news conference given by Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz.

The Politburo stated that the kind of full examination that would make it possible to adopt a substantive stance will only be possible once all the essential details are published. This particularly applies to the ways and means whereby the program goals will be realized, to the time frame for the introduction of individual solutions, as well as to an estimate of outlays and results.

The general directions and goals are to a large extent a continuation of the actions of the previous Council of Ministers, of the actions that M. F. Rakowski's government planned to take in accordance with its draft economic program for the years 1989-1991.

More detailed information has to be provided about certain terms: They include, for example: unemployment—local or national—the scale and scope of privatization and the procedures involved, restructuring and the ways in which production that is eliminated or reduced can be compensated for. Only then will it be possible to adopt a substantive position on specific aims.

The Politburo expressed satisfaction at the continuation of the activities of the previous government that were aimed at starting up cooperation or strengthening cooperation with countries and international organizations that have been partners of ours for many years, as well as with those with which we practically did not cooperate until recently: the FRG, Kuwait, the EEC, South Korea, Israel, Taiwan, and so on.

It is also a good thing that the government has launched legislative initiatives aimed at developing more rational principles for wage indexation and for the structure of the budget, especially with a view to increasing receipts.

These solutions, which were proposed by M. F. Rakowski's government in July, were rejected by the Sejm and the Senate. The Politburo points out that valuable time has been irretrievably lost and calls on the PZPR Deputies' Club to support these solutions.

The Politburo also calls on PZPR members to support the purchase of state bonds, which is one way of curbing

inflation and was a scheme prepared by the finance minister in the late spring of this year.

It is the PZPR Politburo's firm position that every government wants to serve society well and must therefore pursue a policy that protects those groups in the population that cannot influence their standard of living: pensioners, benefit recipients, disabled persons, families with many children, and single parents. It must pursue a policy of equal opportunities for all other citizens regardless of origin, faith, views, and convictions, as well as for economic producers regardless of the form of ownership involved.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo believes that the burden resulting from the sacrifices that are necessary in order to emerge from the crisis should be fairly distributed among all social groups in a manner that takes account of what is possible and feasible for these groups.

Premier Mazowiecki Meets With Rakowski

LD1010220589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki has met with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Polish Workers United Party Central Committee. PAP did not give details of this meeting.

Mazowiecki Interviewed on Army Role in Reform

LD1010215489 Warsaw PAP in English 1627 GMT 10 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 10—On October 9 Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki took part in a joint meeting of the military council of Poland's Ministry of Defence (MON) and the leadership of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MSW) chaired by Wojciech Jaruzelski. The premier visited also the 1st Praski Mechanized Regiment. Following the visits Tadeusz Mazowiecki granted an interview for the ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI army daily. Here is what he had to say:

Q.: Mr Prime Minister, although you paid your first visit to soldiers on the eve of the Polish Army Day, it can hardly be considered a courtesy call...

A.: It was a very important visit, especially the meeting with the MON Military Council and the MSW leadership. It was the first chance for me to address such a forum. Indeed, it was not a courtesy meeting but a possibility to learn about problems discerned by the leaderships of the ministries as well as a chance to present my philosophy on the functioning of the state.

Q.: The talk proved how much public image of the Army's life differs from reality. Discussed were in detail problems preying on the Army...

A.: I could complain as well.

Q.: ...But will your government try to help solve some of the most difficult problems at least?

A.: Of course, I will try to help. But I think that the ministry will have to help itself on many points as we simply have nothing to dispose of. Unfortunately, our means do not cover all needs.

Q.: And on what scale would you see the Army's assistance for the government's actions aimed at pulling Poland out of the present economic crisis?

A.: On a fairly large scale. As concerns spheres, (it would certainly embrace) reorganization of the arms industry. This is possible as my talk with the minister indicated. Now enterprises' managers should get interested in that. Needed is also assistance for hospital service—we talked about that as well and we are doing something in that sphere.

Jacek Kuron Cited on Conflicts With Workers

PM1310115489 Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish 15 Sep 89 p 1

[Interview with Jacek Kuron, Minister of Labor and Social Policy, by TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC correspondent "S.D."; date, place not given]

[Text] [Correspondent] You are assuming control of a very difficult ministry. Are you not afraid that you could face frequent awkward confrontations with workers?

[Kuron] There was a period of 42 years in Poland when internal order was based on total subjugation of the working people. Now the situation has changed. After the collapse of the totalitarian order public pressure to increase wages became overpowering—and the countering forces are very weak. I believe that people's reserves of patience have been exhausted and that the situation in Poland must be changed as soon as possible. This is what we all want. But inevitably there is a price to be paid for such a change. There is no other way. This price must be paid by everyone, or almost everyone. The state is obliged to protect only those who cannot protect themselves.

[Correspondent] But have you any concrete proposals on how they should be protected?

[Kuron] Yes, I have! First, as regards old age and disability pensioners, it is necessary to introduce a system of regular monthly reviews of old age and disability pensions to keep them in line with average national earnings. I think that the best way to do this is through a system of awarding points similar to that applied to government officials' salaries during the period of high inflation between the wars. Another problem to be addressed is mass redundancies. Those made unemployed should be guaranteed a sufficient subsistence allowance and helped to find new employment as soon as possible.

[Correspondent] But will you be able to find enough money to provide all this?

[Kuron] This will be our main problem: From whom should we take and to whom should we give? If we cannot help the pensioners and those laid off work, we should not embark on the whole operation at all. The third question—and one which I consider most important—is that of the poverty suffered by a great number of large families, mothers bringing up children on their own, the handicapped, and others. We need a major assistance scheme organized and coordinated by the government and run with the support of public movements and organizations. What we want is individually-addressed assistance. Any other scheme would only mean a waste of resources. I maintain that there are sufficient funds and means for such an operation. The reason why they have not been activated before is that we have no adequate and flexible apparatus for their distribution. We could even find considerable financial reserves still waiting to be utilized. We must all bear the cost of restoring the economy to good health, but no one should be allowed to starve in the process.

[Correspondent] What would happen if, for example, the government were to issue a moratorium on all strike activity? Surely the workers would then say to you: Well, Mr Kuron, are you against us now?

[Kuron] On the whole I am against a moratorium on strikes. I believe that we should negotiate the pay principles, that is, the costs we must all bear. It is also necessary to urgently update Chapter 5 of the Trade Unions Act which regulates the right to strike. The regulations governing strike organization procedure must be simplified. The procedure currently in force makes striking virtually impossible, which means that all strikes actually taking place are wildcat strikes. What we need is a provision allowing trade unions to resort to the strike weapon only if and when the government breaks the agreement it has signed with the trade unions. As long as the government does not infringe its own agreement with the trade unions, they should not be entitled to use that weapon. Of course, there will always be wildcat strikes. But we must agree on this: No one will negotiate with wildcat strikers. What is more, no one will make any concessions...

[Correspondent] And that is precisely when you will hear the question: Well, Mr Kuron...?

[Kuron] I am bound to hear this question many times. In any case, I have heard it many times before. There are those who will always assume the simplistic attitude. These are the ones who always say: I want, I want, I want! I have always quarreled with them and I have always been called a traitor by them. But I do not think it is true. I know I am about to face a lot of moral conflicts. No one has yet found a recipe for a conflict-free life. But I honestly have not felt that the number of conflicts that I have to face has increased recently.

Niezabitowska Calls for 'Greater Autonomy'

AU1310114389 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 10 Oct 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Government Spokesman Malgorzata Niezabitowska by Jan Ordynski: "I Am One Of Them"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Ordynski] I suggest we start our talk with your impressions of your first news conference. How do you assess your debut in front of a very large audience?

[Niezabitowska] I place great demands upon myself, therefore I always feel things could be better. I assess my first news conference in positive terms. Of course, it was a great unknown quantity and a major stress, but not because I appeared in public. I have after all given many lectures abroad, but because I was no longer speaking on my own behalf. That is the greatest burden, perhaps the greatest one when performing this function. Therefore I have to change my style, and be careful of what I say. After all, as I said at the conference, anything I say could be used against this government. Apart from that, I have never been a politician, so I do not have the relevant training.

[Ordynski] The DAILY TELEGRAPH wrote that the role of government spokesman is against your nature.

[Niezabitowska] Maybe the role is not against my nature, but it is certainly difficult. I am a person who reacts spontaneously. Intelligence plays a part in this, of course, but it is impossible to change one's style and reaction to the world overnight. In any case, I am working on it. But getting back to the conference, the press knows that I am only just learning the ropes, and I hope it will understand my early slip-ups and errors, which I am bound to commit. I value professionalism very highly, and I would like to quickly become a real partner of my colleagues on the other side of the table, for I know that the task of journalists is to squeeze as much as possible out of a government spokesman.

[Ordynski] But do you feel strong enough to represent and defend government policies? After all, society's reception of these policies is going to be very difficult. The first difficulties are already upon us, and I feel this is just the beginning. You are not used to such difficult subject matter, and yet, to simplify things somewhat, you are going to be responsible for everything.

[Niezabitowska] You are right, this is a very difficult task, and I think it would be impossible to perform it were I not convinced that radical economic reforms are the only way to lead Poland out of this catastrophe. The reforms will cause much hardship, but I also believe they will liberate a lot of energy and initiative. If we all—society and the government—have enough consistency, determination, and patience, then we stand a chance of really changing the country. With this conviction in mind, it will be easier for me to defend these policies. I do not think I will be the only advocate of these policies

anyway. That is why I have changed the nature of these news conferences. The political and economic material is so complex that no single person is capable of mastering it. Therefore, ministers, their deputies, or their spokesman will themselves talk about what their ministries are doing. Journalists should have much wider access to sources, and we are working in this direction.

Getting back to your question, I obviously took a risk when I accepted this post. Aleksander Malachowski very aptly described the Mazowiecki Government as a team of stuntmen. I am one of them. Of course I had doubts and still have them, but the premier thinks I will take all the duties in stride, and he has known me for many years. Of course, and let me stress this, I have to learn, but then almost everyone in the government has to learn to varying degrees. In this, I am very much counting on my closest colleagues.

[Ordynski] Exactly. I wanted to ask you about them. At the conference, you said that in future, you would appear together with your deputy, Henryk Wozniakowski. What other tasks does he have?

[Niezabitowska] Henryk Wozniakowski is in charge of the Press Office. He also organizes the premier's meetings with journalists, and there are many people at home and abroad keen to interview him. This has to be arranged wisely but firmly, otherwise the premier would be doing nothing except giving interviews to journalists. In addition, I would like Mr Wozniakowski to help me out at news conferences from time to time, and help organize the structure of which we are only the very tip. However, it is too early to give details.

[Ordynski] By virtue of the Press Act you are also in charge of the press spokesmen of ministers and voivodes. How do you view their role in the new situation? They are, or they ought to be, of major assistance in the performance of your tasks. After all, it is difficult to expect you to comment on every single event or every single decision issued by a ministry or voivodship.

[Niezabitowska] I did discuss certain plans concerning these people at my news conference. I intend to hold a meeting with all spokesmen in the very near future. I will carefully listen to what they have to say. Generally, their work has been considered bad. Journalists have complained that instead of making their work easier, these spokesmen only make it more difficult. I do not think this is purely the result of bad will, but also a result of the situation of these spokesmen. Located between the hammer and the anvil, they had no support from anyone. This will now change, just as the entire political landscape and method of exercising authority have changed. I hope this will influence not just the work of the press spokesmen, but also that of the entire state administration. But [as published]

[Ordynski] A question on the subject of the new government spokesman's proposal concerning RZECZPOSPOLITA, the organ of the Council of Ministers, cannot be absent in this interview. Our paper, established in 1981 on the initiative of Edmund Osmanczyk, is read above all by the state and economic apparatus, lawyers, and people seeking further information on the work of the state. This is illustrated by the fact that it has 250,000 subscribers. But what tasks should it perform now?

[Niezabitowska] I think this paper represents the government's point of view more than any other paper, and it must stay that way. It should also continue to be the source of certain documents and official information sought by the people you mention. Its role as a direct and reliable source of information on what the government is doing should not be lost, because it is very important. At the same time, I think it is necessary to find a way for it to present its information in a more lively and open manner, so that other readers might pick up RZECZPOSPOLITA as well. It is up to the editors how to achieve that, of course. After all, the new information policy calls for considerably greater autonomy for everyone.

Commentary on Niezabitowska Interview 'Blunders'

PM1610112089 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 23 Sep 89 p 15

["P. Ad." commentary: "Wishes For the Spokesperson"]

[Text] As we announced elsewhere in this issue (see p 2), Malgorzata Niezabitowska has been appointed our new government spokesperson. As a reporter, she made her name with articles in the now disbanded KULTURA weekly, as well as TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, and the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC. She co-scripted a number of television films and was joint author of a famous exhibition on the last Polish Jews. Having known Malgorzata Niezabitowska for many years, I sincerely wish her few stresses and many successes in her new, difficult, and important office. I also wish her success in fulfilling the promise she gave in an interview to GAZETA WYBORCZA, and which was quoted in the title of that interview: "I Will Speak the Truth."

It must be said, however, that M. Niezabitowska made at least two blunders in that interview. She is quoted as saying: "I give my unconditional preference to GAZETA WYBORCZA. After all, they are friends." Well, in my opinion a government spokesperson ought to treat her fellow journalists absolutely equally, regardless of their place of work or affiliation.

At another juncture, asked about a certain tradition which she inherits from Jerzy Urban, Malgorzata Niezabitowska says: "I cannot answer this question since I have never ever watched him. I have never once seen a press conference given by Mr Urban. I have simply never felt the need."

It is startling, to say the least, to hear a government spokesperson declare that she has never before been in the least interested in the country's political life. After

all, J. Urban's conferences constituted a significant innovation and were of great interest (though sometimes they were also a source of considerable annoyance) to everyone involved in politics, especially journalists, irrespective of the colors under which they wrote.

For my own part, I certainly feel the need to listen carefully, right from the start, to what our Madam Spokesperson has to say.

Peasant's Party Caucus Elects New Head

LD1310045489 Warsaw PAP in English
2255 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct 12—The future of the peasants' movement was the key issue of the discussion at today's meeting of the United Peasant's Party [UPP] caucus. The UPP does not want the unity of the peasant movement at any cost, as the hitherto unity was artificial, the deputies said.

Much attention was devoted to the current state of agriculture. The countryside expects that the government present its agricultural policy, which would neutralize many tensions in the countryside.

Jozef Zych, a lawyer, was elected head of the UPP caucus during the closed-door part of the meeting, as Aleksander Bentkowski gave up this function after being appointed minister of justice.

Zych told PAP that the caucus is critical about the draft amendment to the law on indexation, as the indexation fails to settle many problems in work establishments and the countryside. Many of the deputies assess that it worsens the situation of workers and farmers. We will probably vote for the draft, but we still have many remarks, Zych said.

Democratic Party Floor Group Hits Draft Laws

LD1310041189 Warsaw PAP in English
2247 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 12—The SD (Democratic Party) parliamentary floor group today critically assessed two government draft laws: on indexation and on the national judicial council.

As regards indexation, the deputies of the SD unanimously decided to reject the respective draft law.

The deputies had many reservations as concerns many proposals contained in the second draft law. They stressed that ideas of setting up a national judicial council were not consulted among judges. The deputies plan to criticize this draft at the Sejm forum.

KPN Group Occupies PRON Office in Katowice

LD1710040689 Warsaw PAP in English
2115 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Katowice, Oct. 16—Since Oct. 13, the Silesian branch of the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) has occupied the office of the former municipal council of PRON (the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth) here.

While speaking to PAP reporter, [Slomka] chairman of the Silesian chapter of KPN has said that after the meeting with the premier, in which KPN took part, it seemed that the situation would be different. Members of the organization are determined to stay in the PRON premises until they win the right to the place. They are ready to organize rallies in the Silesian towns, mines or even to go on the hunger strike, if this proves necessary, Slomka said.

"We understand that the occupation of the premises by an opposition party which demands its allocation has not had a precedent in Poland. However, the transformations under way in Poland require that our demands be met," Slomka said.

UN Delegate Promotes International Law

AU0510201789 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1901 GMT 5 Oct 89

["Romanian Address to the Legal Committee of the UN General Assembly"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] United Nations AGERPRES, 5/10/1989—Addressing in the Legal Committee of the UN General Assembly, Romania's ambassador to the UN Petre Tanasie showed that the question under debate is more topical than ever and underscored that Romania firmly declares for the improvement of the international climate, for the immediate cessation of the existing conflicts in various parts of the world. From this principled stand, Romania considers that the UN [United Nations] should reassert states' obligations to renounce force in the relations among them, to observe each people's right to freely choose its development path without any foreign interference.

Referring to the necessity and possibility that the UN imply more resolutely and more efficiently in the settlement of conflicts, the speaker insisted that the world organization be not only a political forum of debates, sometimes controversial and tardy ones, when the conflicts are already too grave. It is necessary that the UN serve as a preventive diplomatic forum which should make efforts so that conflicts be avoided and mutually acceptable solutions be found when such a situation is still possible.

The Romanian representative formulated a series of proposals meant to ensure the fulfillment by the UN of its role in ensuring peace and security on our planet, in frontranking in the actions for the peaceful settlement of all conflicts.

Reasserting that Romania declares for the proclamation of a decade of international law (1990-1999), Romania's representative referred to each state's obligativity to promote a policy of observance of the national independence and sovereignty of other countries, of noninterference in internal affairs, of development of international collaboration as an essential condition for the reduction of tension and instauration of a climate of peace and mutual confidence.

Stress was laid on the fact that Romania declares for the elaboration and adoption of a universal convention on the peaceful settlement of conflicts which should meet the current requirements of the international relations.

The speaker also referred to Romania's proposal concerning the commission of good offices, mediation and reconciliation within the UN, recommended by the UN Charter Special Committee. This proposal he underscored is sustained by the necessity to improve the UN mechanism of facilitating the peaceful settlement of all international conflicts, of strengthening that essential function of the world organization, of increasing the possibilities for building a better and more just world.

Stresses Development

AU0710183289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1544 GMT 7 Oct 89

["Address by Romanian Permanent Representative at the UN"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] United Nations, AGERPRES 7/10/1989—Taking the floor during the debates under the Economic and Financial Committee of the General Assembly, Romanian permanent representative Ilie Tanasie stressed that in Romania's vision a new international strategy of development should lead to the elimination of underdevelopment, of the gaps between the rich and the poor countries, the eradication of poverty, to stimulating the use of the human resources in order to ensure economic and social progress in each country, to encouraging international trade and deepening the economic cooperation. The size of the developing countries' foreign debt has acquired a qualitatively new dimension asking for a global settlement, sheltered from any political or economic conditions imposed on the debtor countries. Such a solution must put an end to the transfer of resources from the developing nations and open the prospect of dialogue between the industrial nations and the lagging ones and of defining the responsibilities of debtors and creditors.

Highlighted were the significance and role of cooperation in the area of science and technology and the fact was set forth that if the lagging countries fail to gain access to the new technologies as soon as possible they will miss the chance to contribute effectively to the consolidation of their own economies, to the development of the world economy.

Romania considers that a new international conference on questions related to cooperation in the fields of science and technology would offer a chance to relaunch the dialogue between the developed countries and the lagging ones in this domain of vital importance, the speaker said.

International dialogue and cooperation with a view to development, he further stressed, are now more necessary than ever, but they will gain a content and a meaning only under the circumstances of fully equal rights, noninterference in the domestic affairs and peaceful coexistence. Any attempt to link interstate commercial exchanges and cooperation ventures to conditions involving structural changes aiming at transforming the public sector into private property, or imposing the market economy mechanisms, any pressures and discriminations are in Romania's opinion incompatible with the unanimously acknowledged principles of interstate relations. Romania believes that the current session is a fine opportunity to reassert the importance of these principles sanctioned in the UN Charter and other fundamental documents, as well as the need to set in a new international economic order, and for all the peoples in the world to strive.

Ceausescu Receives Costa Rican Delegation

AU0410190889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1813 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 4/10/1989—Wednesday, October 4, President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received a parliamentary delegation of Costa Rica headed by Anibal Gonzalez Barrantes, Bureau member, first secretary of the Legislative Assembly, who is visiting Romania invited by the Grand National Assembly.

The chief delegate handed over to President Nicolae Ceausescu a message and conveyed a cordial salute on behalf of President Oscar Arias Sanches of the Republic of Costa Rica and of the friendly Costa Rican people.

The guest appreciated highly the achievements of the Romanian people in the country's economic and social development as well as the initiatives devoted by Romania to peace and international collaboration.

President Nicolae Ceausescu sent a friendly salute and best wishes to the president of the Republic Of Costa Rica and to the friendly Costa Rican people.

During the interview the sides pointed out the good relations of friendship and collaboration between Romania and Costa Rica, considering that ample prospects exist for the amplification of bilateral collaboration in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural domains as well as on an international plane. In the context they set forth the important role incumbent on parliaments and parliamentarians in the two countries concerning a better mutual knowledge and strengthening the collaboration between the two peoples.

Also approached were certain current aspects of the international situation. In the context the Romanian president underscored the need for all the peoples, the progressive forces everywhere, the parliaments to join forces in the struggle for the promotion of the policy of peace, disarmament, nuclear in the first place, for settling politically, through negotiations, the states of backwardness extant in various regions of the world. At the same time they stressed the need to eradicate underdevelopment and to build a new world economic order meant to contribute to a more rapid progress of all the countries, of the lagging ones in particular, and to ensure each people's right to choose self-dependently the path of development, free of any foreign interference.

Participating in the call was Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly.

Elisabeth Segura, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Republic of Costa Rica, was present.

Kim Il-song Thanks Ceausescu for Message

AU0710195289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Oct 89 p 5

[Message of thanks from DPRK President Kim Il-song to Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, for a greeting message on DPRK National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania:

I would like to extend to you heartfelt thanks for the warm greetings and wishes that you, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people, and on your own behalf, kindly conveyed to me on the occasion of the 41th anniversary of the DPRK's creation.

You highly valued the successes obtained by our people in socialist construction and you expressed support and active solidarity with our proposals on eliminating tension from the Korean peninsula and on achieving a peaceful and independent reunification of our country without any outside interference, as well as with the efforts we have made in this direction, all of which represents a greatly encouraging factor for our people.

I take this opportunity to express my belief that the traditional relations of friendship and cooperation between our parties, countries, and people will continue to consolidate and develop.

Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea and DPRK president

Ceausescu Praises Agricultural Production

AU0510130889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Oct 89 pp 1,3

[President Nicolae Ceausescu's address to workers of "Gheorghe Doja" Agricultural Production Cooperative, Ialomita County, during his working visit to that county on 1 October 1989]

[Text] Dear Comrades: We have received an invitation from the chairman of your cooperative to have a look at your corn crops. We have seen with great satisfaction that the crops are even bigger than what the chairman of the cooperative had estimated. Virtually, more than 40,000 kg of corn cobs per hectare can be obtained in this field. As far as beet roots are concerned, I believe that a yield of more than 140,000 kg of beets per hectare will be ensured. I would like to extend congratulations to all cooperative workers for the good wheat crops—of over 10,000 kg of wheat per hectare—and for all the other crops that they have obtained and I extend them wishes for increasingly greater crops. This will ensure the increase of all cooperative workers' remuneration and their income in kind and, at the same time, it will ensure the increase of the contribution made by this unit to the state's centralized fund and to the general economic development of our homeland. Now, on the basis of these realities, that is of the crops that have been obtained, we can see for ourselves what the new agrarian revolution means. Compared to the crops yields obtained in the past, the crops of today, 40 tonnes of corn and 10 tonnes of wheat per hectare, have really come a long way. Next year, your cooperative farm

should run for a front-ranking place in the field of wheat yields. This year, we have cooperative farms which have obtained 12 tonnes of wheat per hectare. Our goal is to obtain 15,000 kg of wheat and 50,000 of corn per hectare. Cooperative workers in Gheorghe Doja commune, I am familiar with your work because I have visited this units several times and I ask you to make efforts in order to obtain good results and, according to your potential, obtain increasingly better results next year. This proves that only the great socialist agriculture and only the common socialist, state, and cooperative property can ensure such good results, increase production, and improve our whole nation's standard of living. Dear Comrades, I extend to you congratulations and wishes for increasingly better results.

Ceausescu Stresses Modernization to Workers

AU0510131889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 3 Oct 89 p 3

[Speech by President Nicolae Ceausescu at chemical fertilizer factory in Slobozia, Ialomita County, on 1 October]

[Text] Dear Comrades: I have paid a short working visit to agricultural and industrial units—the edible oil enterprise and the furfural factory within the combine for chemical fertilizers of Slobozia.

In agriculture, I noted positive things and even very positive ones. Wheat output at the Gheorghe Doja Agricultural Production Cooperative was good—10,000 kg per hectare. I concluded that large yields have also been achieved for corn and sugar beet. In the case of corn, yields amounted to more than 40,000 kg cobs per hectare, while those for sugar beet were 130-140 tonnes per hectare. I requested that efforts be made to achieve 12,000-15,000 kg of wheat per hectare and more than 50,000 kg corn per hectare.

At the edible oil enterprise I noted positive things, but there, too, it is necessary to work toward implementing the modernization measures in the shortest time possible, and toward ensuring the application of new technologies in order to produce quality oil, increase profitability, and to increase efficiency in all areas on the whole.

We have gained positive impressions about the improvements made and results achieved at the furfural factory regarding increasing profitability and reducing consumption and production costs. Here are the kind of results that can be achieved when new and modern technology is applied: an increased output and national income, and, on this basis, a greater contribution to our homeland's development in general, and to improving the standard of living of the whole nation.

We are preparing for the 14th Party Congress. I would like Ialomita County, and actually the whole country, to present itself—in industry and agriculture—with the best of results in all areas, with increased outputs, profitability, and economic efficiency, because this is the means for unflinchingly implementing the party program aimed at making the golden dream come true—communism.

Once again, I want to congratulate you and to wish you ever better results in all areas of activity.

Ceausescu Visits Agricultural Research Institute

AU0410195689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1901 GMT 4 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 4/10/1989—President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania met on October 4, at the Research and Technological Engineering Institute for Farm Machinery and Equipment, with executives and specialists in this field. An analysis was made of how the programmes for the improvement of mechanization works in agriculture were implemented and of the manufacture of complex, diversified, high-performance machines and equipment to this end, so as to secure the application of the most efficient culture technologies and obtain bumper crops in this way.

During the analysis, special attention was paid to the modernization of the technology for the mechanization of corn farming from the basic works to sowing, maintenance and harvesting of this important crop. A new family of ploughs with variable width was presented meant for the preparations of areas under bed irrigation.

The new technical solutions were adapted to the ploughs which equip state and cooperative farm units. Other high-performance machines were also presented and it was also stressed that the equipment of farm units with high-tech and high-performance outfit would help harvest 80 per cent of the corn crop by mechanical means. Emphasis was placed on the high technical characteristics of the new types of corn harvesting combines which help gather corn in a very short time and in very good conditions.

The RCP [Romanian Communist Party] general secretary asked that action should be further taken to continually improve all the farm machines and equipment so that they may secure the on-time and quality performance of all farm works, to get bigger and bigger crops, in keeping with the demands and targets of the new agrarian revolution.

Improvements in Consumer Goods Pushed

AU0910201589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1917 GMT 9 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 9/10/1989—On Monday, 9 October, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Mrs Elena Ceausescu visited the new shop "Vinatorul" in Bucharest.

Like the previous visits and analyses, the visit reflects the constant concern of the party and state leadership for the development and good operation of the commercial network of the capital city, for the continuous improvement of the population's supply with food products and consumer goods in accord with the stipulations in the self-sufficiency programmes.

Placed in an area of old traditions of the Bucharest trade on the Magheru Boulevard in the vicinity of the Romana Square the new shop offers the buyers a wide range of venisons.

The RCP and Romanian state leader was presented the concerns for the better use of the country's rich cynegetic resources.

The RCP and Romanian state leader required the decision-makers present there to take measures for the expansion and diversification of the units selling venisons and fish.

The RCP general secretary underscored, as he did in the analyses made the previous days, the responsibility incumbent on the Municipal People's Council, the ministries and the other bodies with attributions in the sphere of trade regarding the radical improvement of the capital city's supply with food stuffs, the better organization of the entire commercial activity, the rigorous observance of the self-sufficiency programmes set for this time of the year.

Progress Seen in Use of Alternate Energy

AU0510115489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0950 GMT 5 Oct 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 5/10/1989—In the context of articulating a complex strategy to ensure the power balance of development Romania promotes wide actions for the turning to advantage of the alternate energy resources, concomitant with the fulfillment of the programs of building the new power units fuelled mainly by coal and hydraulic energy, of reduction of consumption and modernization of productive technologies.

In order to have the alternate energy sources account for a component of the country's balance of primary energy now, an ample program of scientific research focused on them was started in 1974 in a network of tens of laboratories in specialized institutes coordinated by several units declared methodologic centres.

This structure, adequately staffed and equipped, produced specialty studies on the energy peculiarities of the alternate sources, the climatic zones of the country and the inventory of the usable energy potential of the respective sources, the homologation of the first generation of equipment and of over 200 technologies for the turning to advantage of the alternate energy sources, the working out of 79 standard projects for all industrial uses investigated so far.

The energy potential of the alternate sources fit to be used is assessed at some 15 million tonnes conventional fuel a year, comprising the geothermal, solar, aeolian energy, the biogas and the energy generated by microhydroelectric power plants.

Tangible results have already been recorded.

The production of thermal power from alternate sources topped 430,000 tonnes conventional fuel over 1981-1985, and in the first years of the current five-year period it was of more than 300,000 tonnes conventional fuel.

As for the geothermal energy, standard projects were worked out and endorsed, based on which the partial use of geothermal water with an equivalent of 75,000 tonnes conventional fuel was achieved, for the heating of hothouses and as thermal agent in various industrial processes, the heating of houses and household hot water supply.

In the domain of solar energy, at the end of 1988 over 800,000 square meters of solar batteries were assembled which, according to estimates, ranks Romania the fifth in the world. Among the major achievements we mention over 100 block thermal stations with a capacity of up to 750 cubic meters/day for the preparation of hot water to be used by 37,000 flats and hotels.

Also, some 400 aeolian turbines of small and big power operate in Romania, with a total some 700 kW, tens of biogas installations, industrial-type included.

A remarkable development has been recorded in the building of microhydroelectric power plants. About 200 such plants were built by 1985, with an electricity production totalling 100 million MWh/year. The program for the current five-year period /19861990/ stipulates the commissioning of a large number of microhydroelectric plants with a power of some 600 MW a year.

Considering the results scored so far, a drive was started on a national plane for securing in 1989, based on alternate sources, the energy self-sufficiency of at least five communes in every county. Numerous counties, including Arges, Alba, Braila, Buzau, Cluj, Hunedoara, Neamt, Sibiu, Suceava, Timis, Vrancea have already announced the accomplishment of the target.

Disagreement With Greece Over Lake Dojran

LD1410222589 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Oct 89

[Text] At the end of a 2-day session of the Yugoslav-Greek Standing Commission for Water Management, which was held in Skopje, a customary protocol on the talks was not signed. The reason for this is the incompatibility of some standpoints relating to the impermissible use of water from Lake Dojran. For the Greek side, not even a protocol with separate views on these standpoints was acceptable. As a result, consideration for the remaining items on the agenda was not continued.

Besides this difference, the same or similar views and ideas were expressed during the talks on the protection of Lake Dojran's use as a natural resource of the both countries.

Constitution Should Take Shape in Public

LD1610180489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1554 GMT 16 Oct 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 16 Oct (TANJUG)—A new SFRY constitution can only be a manifestation of an agreement between nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and their republics and provinces. Thus, it is necessary that the initiative for a new federal constitution takes shape in public and on the basis of clear stands by republics and provinces in connection with its content. This was stated at a session of the Slovenian Presidency, which discussed the work on preparing the text of a new Slovenian constitution and participation in preparing the initiative for a new federal constitution.

According to the republican Committee for Information, with that aim in mind, the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia named a working group, which in the shortest possible time should propose the basis for a new constitution of the SR of Slovenia and SFRY Constitution to the Slovene Presidency. The Slovenian working group will use as a starting point the text "Basic Charter'89", and it will take into account the results of work by a special group, formed with the same aim by the republican conference of the Slovene Socialist Alliance of Working People.

'Exclusive AFP Interview' With Slovenia's Kucan

AU1110165089 Paris AFP in English 1631 GMT 11 Oct 89

[by Nicolas Miletitch]

[Text] Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, Oct 11 (AFP)—The communist party may lose power in Slovenia, Yugoslavia's most liberal and economically developed republic, as a result of free elections due to be held there in March, the local party chief revealed Wednesday.

"The chance of losing the elections is no longer just theoretical," Slovenian communist party head Milan Kucan, 48, told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE in an exclusive interview. "From the moment elections are free, one can't rule out this situation".

Mr Kucan, considered leader of Yugoslavia's reform movement, said the elections, "first of their kind in Yugoslavia", will make Slovenia the country's first republic to allow party pluralism.

Although a recent revision of Slovenia's constitution opened the way for party pluralism, most of the Belgrade leadership strongly opposes the concept and voters will not know just how free the poll is likely to be until new legislation is published late next month.

Reformers are aiming beyond "democracy with several parties" and hope to see movements like the environmentalist Greens spring up alongside traditional political parties, Mr Kucan said.

But he also expressed fear that the proliferation of new groups could "disintegrate Yugoslav society a little more".

Yugoslavia's independent parties have remained specific to Slovenia, Croatia and Serbia so far, and have not progressed to the national level.

Meanwhile tension between republics has been running high, particularly between Slovenia, which favours more autonomy for republics, and Serbia, which backs greater centralized control.

Mr Kucan hinted his [illegible] might one day face possible secession from [illegible]goslavia if relations between republics worsened and "we were forced to". But he said he was "optimistic" and believed the situation would not reach that point.

The constitutional amendment adopted by Slovenia last month, which strengthened its independence from Belgrade, has been denounced by the federal government, the communist party leadership and army as a threat to "Yugoslavia's integrity".

However the Slovenian leader rejected future secession as unrealistic, saying the republic should do everything possible to help bring about a "renewed socialism" in Yugoslavia.

Serbia and its allies opposed to the Slovenian government's policies have called repeatedly for the republic to be brought into line, by force, if necessary.

However Mr Kucan, noting the army had shown clearly it did not want to get involved in internal conflicts, said he was not worried about military intervention.

He also told AFP he had refused an offer to stay on for another term as Slovenian communist party leader and would be stepping down next March.

Smole Interviewed on Slovene-Serbian Relations

AU1210130889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Oct 89 pp 1,14

[D. Draskovic, V. Simonovic report on interview with Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia: "Human Contacts Are Outside Politics"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The first question that we put to Joze Smole, president of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Slovenia, in connection with the brotherhood and unity train was: When was it finally decided to continue this tradition? That is to say, the view appeared in Slovenia at the end of spring that the tradition should be scrapped. However, Smole thought differently from the very beginning.

"There was not one moment of hesitation in the Socialist Alliance of Slovenia over whether the brotherhood and unity train should travel this year, too. We simply always advocated that this tradition should continue. In the atmosphere of certain intensified political circumstances, particularly among the leaderships of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, we have always underscored that no policy should endanger and undermine human contacts that were created under the most difficult historical conditions." [passage omitted]

[Question] You have already said that you will explain to the representatives from the Socialist Republic of Serbia some questions connected with the amendments to the Slovene Constitution.

[Smole] Yes, we can clearly explain the question of the amendments and the question of self-determination by quoting the last part of the "Basic Charter of Slovenia 1989," in which we have said what kind of Yugoslavia we are advocating. Actually insisting on the right to secession, and the right to association, has nothing to do with any separatist tendencies but is a significant component of the strengthening of one view of Yugoslavia as a democratic community. This is a right which cannot be realized. Even despite this, we still have an orientation toward Yugoslavia and this only strengthens our obligations to Yugoslavia. This is therefore connected with the further sorting out of relations in Yugoslavia. I think that those who were overanxious and thought that Yugoslavia is in danger will now see that there is no danger whatsoever to the integrity of Yugoslavia, but that this involves establishing relations in our socialist community.

However, we essentially disagree with the so-called "May Declaration" and the difference is, in fact, on this point. The "May Declaration," which was signed by a group connected with the Slovene Democratic Alliance, was written in such a way that it turns out that Slovenia is not in Yugoslavia but has yet to decide whether it will join Yugoslavia, a unified Europe, or, if we want to be funny, go to Mars. For me, the position in the "May Declaration" is unacceptable and in this respect we deeply disagree with various alliances and alternative political groups. We are insisting on the "Basic Charter" which proceeds from the idea that we are a sovereign, equal part of Yugoslavia and that we can only discuss what Yugoslavia will be like and what Slovenia's position will be in this Yugoslavia. We wanted to use the right to self-determination to build in guarantees against all the dangers of unitarism and centralism in Yugoslavia because these dangers actually do exist and we have no reason to conceal them.

[Question] Let us return to relations between the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. The conflicts between the two leaderships over the view of a future federation have also been transferred to ordinary people. "Serbophobia" is being created on one side and intolerance towards Slovenes on the other. To what extent can manifestations like the "train" contribute to improving the climate, if you in the leaderships continue with your quarrels?

[Smole] This does not only involve quarrels among leaderships, but some fundamental interests of both peoples and their views of Yugoslavia. We have always been against any Serbophobia, just as we believe that the comrades in Serbia are against Slovenophobia. Elements of Serbophobia should definitely be most vehemently condemned, but the fact is that some actions stoke up national intolerance. In the final analysis, Tito always warned us of this and we did not understand his repetition of these warnings, and some people thought that he was being boring with these slogans about brotherhood and unity, but he sensed where the problems lie in a multinational community like the Yugoslav one. I think that the solution is to be found in us going for maximum decentralization and leaving each people to arrange their house in the way that suits them. In this respect, we reach the main point that I should not interfere in the internal matters of Serbia and you should not interfere in the internal matters of Slovenia. [passage omitted]

'Alternative' Groups Disagree on Roundtable

LD1210083489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1950 GMT 11 Oct 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Oct (TANJUG) This evening's session of the coordination group of alternative political organizations and movements in Slovenia showed that within the "alternative" there are different views regarding the fate of the so-called roundtable. The last session of the recently founded "roundtable", as a place for "dialogue" between "official" and "unofficial" political organizations, was adjourned. The reason for this was the criticism by the "alternative" to the effect that, at the session of the Constitutional Commission and the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, League of Communists [LC] and Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] representatives did not advocate the

stances adopted at the "roundtable" (this refers to the amendment defining elections for sociopolitical chambers).

The majority of members of the "coordination group" assessed that the "alternative" needs the "roundtable" because it is the only place where it can exert an influence on the adoption of electoral legislation and laws on political association, and because it is a springboard for influencing public media and the public. However, representatives of the "Slovene Democratic Alliance" clearly said that they no longer wish to participate in the work of the "roundtable" unless they receive guarantees that the roundtable's conclusions are binding for all. Finally, it was concluded that one should observe the "rules of the game", as defined by the temporary rulebook of the "roundtable", which were, as stated, transgressed by the "other side". The stand was clearly formulated that a convocation of another session of the "roundtable" is possible only if the SAWP and, above all, the LC previously send written replies to criticisms that they disregarded the accepted agreements.

Kosovo RILINDJA Criticizes Albania's Alia

LD0710200289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1519 GMT 7 Oct 89

[Text] Pristina, October 7 (TANJUG)—Ramiz Alia, Albania's man number one, encourages and supports ethnic Albanian separatists in the Province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, the Pristina daily RILINDJA wrote here today.

In a commentary on Alia's recent speech in the frontier place of Tropoje, this Albanian-language newspaper coming out in Pristina, chief city of the autonomous Province of Kosovo mostly inhabited by ethnic Albanians, saw as see-through efforts by the Tirana leader to cover the genuine aim of his speech by phrases about his country's wish to live in peace and goodneighbourly relations with Yugoslavia.

RILINDJA saw Alia's speech as yet another proof of Tirana's two-faced policy towards Yugoslavia. Its subversive information and propaganda influence on Kosovo's ethnic Albanians with the aim of having this province break away from Yugoslavia and join the so-called greater Albania is kept being unsuccessfully masked with professed wishes for cooperation, the paper wrote.

RILINDJA characterised as a flagrant interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs Alia's evaluation of constitutional changes in Yugoslavia and his claims about alleged hegemonistic pretensions by the leadership of Yugoslavia's Republic of Serbia, within which Kosovo has its autonomy.

In reply to Alia's claims about discrimination practised seemingly against ethnic Albanian intellectuals, language and culture in Kosovo, the paper reminded of an international seminar on Albanian language and culture in which Albania's representative took part last August, i.e. after Serbia's constitutional changes which, Tirana claims, allegedly considerably narrowed the rights of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo were adopted.

Vlasi, Others To Stand Trial; Date Not Set

LD1210204289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1530 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, October 12 (TANJUG)—The Titova Mitrovica district court today confirmed that it has rejected the objections which former party official Azem Vlasi and 14 other ethnic Albanians from the Yugoslav Province Kosovo placed to their charges.

This gives validity to the indictment against these 15 persons accused of the most serious crime in Yugoslav law—endangering constitutional order and social order. The date of the trial, however, has not been set yet. There are indications in the Yugoslav press that it might begin in late October or early November. The trial will be public, but all interested Yugoslav and foreign journalists will not be able to cover it on the spot since there is a limited number of seats in the Titova Mitrovic courthouse.

The prosecutor has charged Kosovo leader Azem Vlasi and a group of leaders from the Trepca mines of inciting actions by Albanian separatists and chauvinists in Kosovo in the February miners' strike and the armed unrest in March which led to the introduction of special measures in this province of the Republic of Serbia.

25 People were killed in the unrest—22 demonstrators, two policemen, and an innocent bystander, and great material damages were incurred as a result of the violence and strikes.

Albanian separatists are still active in Kosovo, and lately they have even resorted to terrorist actions. The separatist's goal is to create an ethnically pure province, declare it a republic, and join it to neighbouring Albania. Their terror and pressures forced about 40,000 Serbians and Montenegrins to migrate from Kosovo to other parts of the country over the past ten years or so.

Bishop Fined for Holding Service Outside Church

AU1510182689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Oct 89 p 12

[R.S. report: "Bishop Lukijan Fined"]

[Text] Osijek, 2 Oct—Zdenka Bukvic-Matusko, misdemeanors judge of the Virovitica commune, has informed the Slavonian Bishop Lukijan in writing that she has fined him 2,000 dinars and ordered him to pay 100,000 dinars in judicial-misdemeanor costs because he organized religious services outside church premises and land. This stems from Articles 15 and 16 of the law on the legal position of religious communities in the Socialist Republic of Croatia which specifically says that religious ceremonies can be organized only on church

premises. The Virovitica Secretariat for Internal Affairs had brought the charges against Bishop Lukijan.

This misdemeanor charge says that on 8 July this year the bishop of Slavonia organized a church meeting in the town's park to mark the 600th anniversary of the battle of Kosovo and thus committed a misdemeanor punishable according to the law on the legal position of religious communities in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

Let us remind BORBA readers that this church service was held in the park in the town's center at the place where an Orthodox church which was built 150 years ago once stood and which was destroyed by the Ustashe in 1943. The sociopolitical organizations of Virovitica oppose any church ceremony because a monument to the soldiers of the National Liberation War now stands directly on former church land and there can be absolutely no talk of constructing a new Orthodox church of Holy Salvation in this place, which is something on which the Orthodox church is insisting.

Bishop Lukijan told us that he will not appeal against the decision by the misdemeanors judge but has only sent a reply in which he said that he had not committed any offense and he will not pay the fine because he held a church service on church land.

"The land is ours, a church was here and we do not abandon the idea of building a new church, for which we already have plans and a sponsor [kum]," said the bishop. "I will pay the costs of the legal action but I will not pay the fine. If need be, I will go to prison," Bishop Lukijan told journalists.

Defense Secretary Attends Exercises in Bosnia

AU1310170089 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Oct 89

[Text] Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, has attended the final stage of the exercises in the larger region of Kalinovik. Participating in the exercises were parts of the units of the first military region, of the territorial defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and of the civilian [word indistinct] of the commune. According to Kadijevic, what is involved is a very economical and efficient form of combining regular training with the test of the professional, moral-political, and psychological readiness of units and commands.

Col Gen Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, also had talks with the highest leaders of Bosnia-Hercegovina: Obrad Piljak, [first name indistinct] Karabdic, and Marko Ceranic. They exchanged views about the current political situation and expressed concern about disunity in the country.

Admiral Simic's Plenum Statement Viewed

AU1110203989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Oct 89 p 2

[Velimir Ilic commentary: "There Is Nothing To Reproach the Admiral For"]

[Text] The current Yugoslav political market has in its own particular way launched Vice-Admiral Petar Simic, president of the Committee of the Organization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the Yugoslav People's Army as a top-class media personality.

Seen from a chronological and factual point of view, the attention of the (un)consciously politicized public was recently drawn first of all to his retort to Ivo Druzic and Janez Kocijancic at the recent session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, which was hurriedly convened on the eve of the adoption of the "Slovene amendments." The sleepy atmosphere among the party leaders in the Sava Center, suddenly churned up with hints of "saber rattling," was woken by Simic's "revolt of reason," as some reporters have called the sentences that he said at that time: "The Yugoslav People's Army is what its name says and it is neither an army of unruly soldiers nor a mercenary army, nor does it work according to—what was called here—a scenario or somebody's whim. Second, the Army leaders are responsible people and political people who do not work at the touch of a button and who are aware of their responsibility, role, and tasks as set out in the Constitution. Third, the supreme command is this country's presidency, and not someone who orders and imposes a state of emergency. This is not just 'anyone' and I ask that on this platform you behave with respect for the presidency as my supreme command, the Yugoslav People's Army, and for its role and military leadership."

These words, voiced in a dignified, composed, but also decisive way in one breath and without one single previously written syllable or "consultation with the grass roots," were the only ones to be greeted at the plenum with generally sincere applause. Once the admiral had finished his statement, those stubborn circles, champions of the Army as a "judge" or "the only stabilizer," and even those who "are afraid of the Army or a state of emergency," were disarmed. Rash and politically inexperienced words about "weapons that are in the hands of the Yugoslav People's Army to which we all belong" could not find a foundation in this.

The fact that Simic is not putting "Army goods" on the shelves of the Yugoslav political market as something monopolistically sacred, and is not offering them as bread, salt, and water for political survival and continuation, is also confirmed by his explanations to those who are inclined toward auctions:

"There is often exaggeration in assessments that the Yugoslav People's Army is the only factor of stability in Yugoslavia," he said to the Communists of the airforce and air-defense, immediately after the sleepless party night in the Sava center. "No matter how much this has impressed us, it should be stressed that this factor is above all the workers class and the workers class should be addressed at this and similar times."

At the electoral conference of the organization of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in the naval region, Simic stressed:

"In the recent mutual settling of accounts, all sides have called on the Yugoslav People's Army for help for one reason or another. They have wanted to put the weight of the Yugoslav People's Army onto their scales. The Yugoslav People's Army is not sitting on these particular scales! People are speculating over its inclinations; so, even when we say what our creed is and what we are leading, they either pretend they are deaf and do not understand or come to the opposite conclusion through politicization."

He does not mention names nor does he specify geographically whence the wind is blowing and what kind of wind is blowing. However, he prevents the so-called "reading between the lines," after which "the role of the Yugoslav People's Army would be determined anew, according to special criteria."

To the admiral everything is militarily clear: "The Yugoslav People's Army is the 'closest target' in attacks, however, what is really the aim, the next aim, is actually being attacked and that is, Yugoslavia, Tito's and AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia] Yugoslavia."

In the general chaos of nationalist passions, expressed on the open stage, he sketches the position of the Yugoslav People's Army: "The Army is Yugoslav in its composition and cannot be anyone's in particular, but it is Croatian, and Serbian, and Macedonian, and Slovene, and Muslim, and Montenegrin, and belongs to all the nationalities of our country," and adds: "Whoever wants to harness it for their own needs is attacking its essence, because its essence is brotherhood and unity." According to him, the Army will advocate that "a new constitution be adopted as soon as possible." The Army does not agree to "be a depoliticized army, so that we are confined to barracks." "The Army accepts pluralism, but through the Socialist Alliance of Working People." It also wants us "to build an efficient and modern federation."

Many political neurotics will continue to attempt to look for "black spots" on this map which one of our senior Army personalities is putting forward. Those who assault the Yugoslav People's Army will perhaps not stop this, and certainly not after this wall of defense has been constructed.

If other parts of the system—which must also be Yugoslav, all-national, united, and stable—expressed its stands at least a little clearly like the Yugoslav People's Army and stuck to their duties and privileges in an almost dignified and consistent way, we would all be less serious and gloomy.

In the past week, Petar Simic did not successfully ward off the "submarines" that were arriving from various directions, but as a politician he hoisted the flag of clear comprehension and clear mutual understanding. It is now up to others to learn a part of this lesson.

Socialist Alliance's Kotar Holds News Conference

LD1310034989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1835 GMT 12 Oct 89

[Text] Belgrade, October 12 (TANJUG)—The Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia will have to consider the initiatives for introducing a multiparty system in the country, member of the Alliance leadership Marijan Kotar told a press conference here on Thursday.

It is no longer the question whether political pluralism should be recognized because it practically exists, but in what way it should find expression in the country's political system, remarked Kotar. He said that the matter would be discussed by the federal conference of the Socialist Alliance, the country's largest socio-political organization, and throughout the period of preparation of a new Yugoslav constitution.

Kotar believes that the Socialist Alliance, as it is today, cannot ensure the implementation of so-called non-party pluralism, chiefly advocated by leading structures of the country and a greater part of the leadership of the League of Communiss of Yugoslavia.

The existing Yugoslav Constitution does not allow of founding new parties besides the ruling League of Communists which has about two million members. As a result, the alternative movements which are emerging spontaneously in different parts of the country have to place themselves "under the shield" of the Socialist Alliance in order to be registered.

Kotar recalled that the Socialist Alliance had opted for the concept of "non-party pluralism," but noted that there were still many dilemmas to be settled.

Critics of the concept, who are growing in number in the Yugoslav public, warn that a utopian model not applied yet anywhere in the world is involved and hold that the Yugoslav political system must be reformed more boldly, the more so as the country has embarked on a radical reform of its economic system along the lines of market economy.

The concept of "non-party pluralism" is also being criticized by individual party leaders, especially in Slovenia, Montenegro and Macedonia, who urge gradual introduction of a multiparty system in the country.

Markovic Answers Sarajevo TV Viewers' Questions

AU1210131489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Oct 89 pp 1,4

[Report on the written answers by Ante Markovic, president of the FEC, to the unanswered questions put by the viewers of the Sarajevo television program "Dialogues": "Inflation Cannot Be Checked By Resignations"]

[Text] If the government could check inflation by resigning, then inflation would be a simple problem. Unfortunately, it is not a simple problem.

This is how Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC], answered the question from Marko Markovic from Tuzla on whether the government will resign if inflation exceeds 2,000 percent by the end of the year. This is one of the hundreds of questions put by television viewers from all over the country in last week's Sarajevo television program "Dialogues" in which the president of the FEC did not have enough time to answer all the questions. In its issues today and tomorrow BORBA will publish the answers to all the questions that were not answered during the television program "Dialogues."

Most questions referred to inflation, the economic and social reform, the market and prices, the standard of living, and the small businesses sector.

Sveta Adzic from Loznica asked the premier: What is the connection between inflation and the nonaligned countries?

Ante Markovic: I don't not see any connection.

Psychological Factors of Inflation

Luka Adamovic from Sabac: What do you think about the forecast rate of inflation of 2,600 percent at the end of the year?

Ante Markovic: There have been various forecasts and these only reinforce the psychological factors of inflation, something I have already spoken about.

Slavko Markovic from Belgrade: Why is Markovic postponing the process of bringing down inflation from September to December?

Ante Markovic: We are not postponing it, as I have already explained, our program has a logical order of moves.

A viewer from Savnik: Do different views of the republics and provinces have any influence on bringing down inflation?

Ante Markovic: Certainly. Achieving a political consensus on a program that is supposed to take us out of the crisis and bring down inflation is the key factor for success.

Ranko Ivankovic from Split: To what extent do numerous sessions (of all kinds and of all forums), including those of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, affect this high inflation?

Ante Markovic: It is undisputable that they do, but in an indirect way. This is difficult to express in terms of the country as a whole, but every enterprise could accurately calculate the consequences of various meetings.

Vladimir Brankov from Bela Crkva: How do you plan to carry out the federal government's program when the Yugoslav market is disunited and when the political reality is characterized by not only opposing interests of the republican and provincial bureaucracies, but also their a lack of readiness to solve the problems in a Yugoslav way?

Ante Markovic: I have already said that we are offering a program which should unite all progressive forces in the country, and that we should reach a necessary social consensus which would facilitate the implementation of the program.

Misa Milovanovic from Nis: Why did the FEC not freeze incomes and prices for 1 year and used this period to introduce all systemic laws that would change the present situation?

Ante Markovic: This has already been tried on several occasions in the past (true, in the period shorter than 1 year), but has never yielded any results. This was always followed by an even stronger wave of inflation. Besides, I think that after that it would be impossible to introduce a new economic system.

Hasan Usculic from Kalesija: Would the situation have been somewhat better if we had frozen some prices such as that of electricity?

Ante Markovic: It would not. We would have lower inflation for some time, but the power generating industry would have been incurring losses. These losses would then have to be paid for by somebody, and this would in turn result in a rise in inflation in the next period.

Davor Vugrin from Zagreb: Is the present interest rate policy a cause of the galloping inflation and does the FEC intend to change it?

Ante Markovic: I would say that the present interest rate policy is a consequence of inflation. We will stick to the policy of real interest rates.

Nedzad Buturovic from Sarajevo: To what extent is the interest rate policy affecting retail prices, and can a change in the interest rate policy remove the cost of capital from the cost of goods?

Ante Markovic: This question is similar to the previous one. The unrealistic prices of capital in the long period of our development have significantly contributed to our present difficulties.

Ilija Pantovic from Raska: What is more difficult, to bring down a government or to bring down inflation?

Ante Markovic: I think that it is more difficult to bring down inflation.

Zdenko Gajski from Zagreb: By what percent can we reduce inflation annually, and how many years will we need to get rid of it?

Ante Markovic: I have already said that there are many causes of our inflation and that its reduction to a tolerable level will take a long time, at least 5 years.

Oliver Jukic: Will inflation be curbed by the end of the year?

Ante Markovic: We will probably stop its increase in this period.

A viewer from Loznica: Is it possible that inflation actually suits some people?

Ante Markovic: Everyone loses at a time of high inflation, although this loss is unevenly distributed.

A group of students from Belgrade: To what extent is the loan for the economic reconstruction of Serbia helping to calm down inflation?

Ante Markovic: This will depend on the effects of the investment of the funds raised by the loan.

Miso Markovic from Niksic: Is it true that our government has had contacts with a U.S. expert who helped one Latin American country to reduce its inflation from more than 2,000 percent to 2 percent?

Ante Markovic: I do not know who you are referring to in particular. We have had contacts with many experts, including the authors of various anti-inflationary programs. There is no anti-inflationary program in the world that we do not know about. But as I said, a model applied in one country, even if it successful in that country, cannot be transferred to other countries. Every country has its specific features.

Bosko Crncevic from Belgrade: Some people claim that the prices of goods, expressed in foreign currency, are not rising at all. Does this mean that we are not experiencing inflation, but a devaluation of the dinar through the transfer of resources from undeveloped to developed republics via the devalued dinar earned from exports?

Ante Markovic: This assertion is unfounded. The value of the dinar is falling just because of inflation.

Zoran Protic from Ljubljana: How could the comrades in the FEC give unrealistic forecasts that inflation will be stopped in September, and even start to decrease, when we are the witnesses of the opposite?

Ante Markovic: I personally did not make any forecasts. On the contrary, in my recent speech in the SFRY Assembly I said that I expected a record increase in inflation in September, which has unfortunately happened.

How To Carry Out Reform

A viewer from Kragujevac: Does Markovic think that the work of his government hitherto has been successful? When does he intend to implement reforms?

Ante Markovic: Absolutely! In a relatively short period of time we managed to finish formulating the economic reform and to create some necessary prerequisites for its implementation, above all with what has already been adopted and with what is currently going through the SFRY Assembly procedure, as well as with what we will propose in the near future. The system will soon be complete and it will begin to function as of 1 January of next year. We are also working on setting up all necessary institutions that are needed to facilitate the introduction and work of an integral market in all its segments. On these assumptions we have also formulated a new macroeconomic policy which has a stabilizing and anti-inflationary character. With this, and with the results achieved in the fields of industrial and agricultural production, and economic relations with other countries (exports, foreign liquidity, and foreign exchange reserves), we have created the bases for starting the process of implementing reforms and stabilizing the Yugoslav economy on lasting and sound foundations.

Mehmed Suljic from Zenica: How can we carry out the economic reform in the country without a federal law and the Constitution binding the republics to do it?

Ante Markovic: The economic reform—this also implies the systemic laws and the measures of the current macroeconomic and development policies—is based on the SFRY Constitution, which must be respected by all participants in social reproduction. This refers to all economic entities and the state at all levels. Finally, the majority of these laws and measures were adopted in the SFRY Assembly with full participation and consent of the republics and provinces.

Samir Makuti from Titova Mitrovica: Why were economic experts Horvat, Soskic, Korosic, Bajt, and others, who would surely be able to formulate an anti-inflationary program, not invited as special advisers?

Ante Markovic: The FEC and the experts in the federal apparatus are familiar with the stands of these scientists. I regularly keep in touch with professor Bajt and a few other prominent economists in the country and discuss the topical problems of our economy. We are using their advice in preparing all more important measures which we are taking or proposing.

Miodrag Lulic, an economist from Kraljevo: 1. What measures are being undertaken to assume monetary control throughout the country? 2. Is a program for protecting national currency being prepared? 3. When will the federation consolidate public finance?

Ante Markovic: In cooperation with the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the FEC has prepared and sent to the SFRY Assembly a complete program of measures needed to put the situation in the monetary sphere in order, and to provide full autonomy. The National Banks, like the monetary authorities, are obliged to care about the stability of the national currency and the consolidation of the federation's finances. Some measures have already been party worked out and were sent

to the SFRY Assembly together with our program. Other measures will follow in the next period until the end of this year.

Branimir Rajic from Osijek: Do you plan to introduce changes in the spheres of revaluation and control?

Ante Markovic: On the basis of an analysis of our experience in implementing the Law on Accounting, the FEC will examine all shortcomings and propose the necessary amendments by the end of this year.

A viewer from Sarajevo: Is it possible to carry out reforms without carrying out cadre changes?

Ante Markovic: No it is not. Without good experts and managers able to organize production and undertake risk in the market economy conditions, the implementation of the reform would encounter serious difficulties. This is one of the major prerequisites for its success.

Vera Tolic from Zagreb: Does Yugoslavia have at least one branch of the economy in which world level of productivity is achieved without additional measures? Does the government plan to stimulate any particular branch of the economy?

Ante Markovic: Even in this defective economic environment there are some organizations, some activities in which we have achieved the world level of productivity and in which we have a relatively high earnings without special intervention.

The only activity which we will continue to subsidize and help with special economic policy measures is agriculture. Other market economies are doing the same.

Milos Ivanovic from Belgrade: Why does Markovic, as premier, not remove politics from the economy?

Ante Markovic: The new economic system, which is characterized by the pluralism of ownership, the autonomy of economic entities, and an integral market, implies a definitive separation of the economy from politics. Economic entities can and should resolutely oppose every possible interference by political factors in their business and cadre policies.

Mubera Biknjac from Sarajevo: What will happen if the program which should now be adopted is not applied to the same extent in all parts of the country?

Ante Markovic: The FEC will, within its powers, undertake all the means available to ensure that these measures are applied. A failure to implement these measures would mean the further reproduction and intensification of the existing difficulties.

Milorad Mrakic from Bosanska Gradiska: How can the market oriented economic reform be now carried out by the very cadres who used to favor a consensus economy?

Ante Markovic: With difficulty. Cadre changes will be necessary wherever there are those who are not able to rid themselves of old misconceptions and accept the new orientation.

Darinka Vimic from Kreljevac: Will the reform of the social system also be carried out?

Ante Markovic: Yes, in the sense of a new type of socialism which will be characterized by efficiency and political democracy including full rights and freedoms of man as an individual.

Miodrag Pavlovic from Titovo Uzice: Can Markovic express his personal view on the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia?

Ante Markovic: The FEC has already adopted its stand and this stand is known. Naturally, as a member and the president of the FEC I also took part in its formulation.

Threatened Standard of Living

Stanko Biskljucic from Ilijas: When will the people who receive their salaries from the federal budget feel the burden of inflation? When will the benefits to these people be stopped?

Ante Markovic: In the April to August period of this year salaries in the federal administration increased by 1.6 times, while the average Yugoslav salary increased by about 2 times. As far as benefits are concerned, I do not need them at all.

Mara Basic from Ruma: How can I trust you when your salaries are rising all the time and I am getting 170 million dinars per month?

Ante Markovic: I am not asking for "trust;" I am working on a program that should provide a better future for everybody.

Ognjen Nesovic from Belgrade: Are there and will there be better days for the workers?

Ante Markovic: Everything we are doing we are, in fact, doing for this reason. However, this is not simple and cannot be done quickly. It depends on all of us and it requires everybody's involvement.

Stanko Stojanovic from Sarajevo: When will somebody start thinking about the fact that a four-member family cannot survive on 5 million dinars per month? Without solving this problem, everything else is in vain.

Ante Markovic: Social programs have been made with these problems in mind. These programs are the duty of the republics and provinces, communes, and enterprises. Solutions should not be sought in "social aid," but in motivating workers to increase productivity, to achieve better results, and to be more efficient.

Milajna Ostojic from Sarajevo: Why have we not made an attempt to equalize the standard of living in every socialist republic because we are still one country?

Ante Markovic: This is impossible to carry out in one enterprise, let alone somewhere at a higher level. However, help is needed and this is what we are doing (with the measures that we are proposing). We are doing it with the view of changing the situation in insufficiently developed republics and Kosovo in accordance with the entire market orientation and on the new bases, of changing it faster in a positive sense. We are ready and are working on that to help some enterprises to revive their production and turn toward new development.

Jelena Popovic from Belgrade: All governments in developed countries have social security programs. Why does our government not have this?

Ante Markovic: Because it has restricted constitutional powers. However, despite this, the FEC has drafted a "social security program" and has presented it to the SFRY Assembly. By doing so we demonstrated our readiness to solve this big problem with economic measures and other necessary means.

A viewer from Split: How will social problems be solved during the reform? What is the cost of reform's success in terms of unemployment?

Ante Markovic: I have already said that the cost of overcoming the crisis is very high and heavy, but that it must be paid. This price is particularly heavy for individuals and families.

Aware of these problems, the FEC, within its limited powers in this sphere, offered the basic concept of a social policy and measures for its implementation. We have thoroughly examined the problem in terms of what it does for social protection, in its relation to the effects of the process of restructuring the economy, and in the liquidation of some enterprises. However, I must stress that the way out is in the new development.

Nikola Peric from Korcula, a viewer from Zadar, Jelena Rakovic and Ibrahim Catic from Sarajevo: What will the workers who are on the subsistence level get from these measures aimed at improving the situation?

Ante Markovic: Everybody, and the workers in particular, must express an interest in what they are gaining and what they are losing from these measures. Only in this way, and not in a passive way, can an initiative for changing the situation be launched. We have created prerequisites for this, particularly in the field of the capital and labor markets and in the accountability of the workers and management. Changes in trade union organizations should be sought in this light. All of the work that were are doing is directed toward improving the situation and creating opportunities for the workers. Of course, this does not depend only on us.

Stana from Kraljevo: Can we regulate pensions in such a way that the ratio between the highest and the lowest is not more than one to three as in some other European countries?

Ante Markovic: There is no such initiative at present.

Zivota Tomic from Soko Banja: Does the FEC know that many working families cannot buy a sufficient amount of food with their personal incomes? Will inflation finally be reduced and when will the disproportion between personal incomes and the rate of inflation be removed?

Ante Markovic: The FEC has continuously been following the situation and problems concerning personal incomes, as well as the trend of inflation. Daily newspapers carry monthly reports on that. According to this data, about which I have already spoken, the Yugoslav personal incomes have not fallen, but have in fact risen 12.7 percent in real terms. We are familiar with both the branch and regional structure of increases in personal incomes. Of course, we are aware that these increases are not linear and that in this situation a number of workers and pensioners find it very difficult to live.

However, we cannot carry out the distribution of personal incomes without the results of work which depend on the productivity, economic rationality, and efficiency of every worker and enterprise. You probably know that we do not interfere in the internal distribution of income.

A viewer from Tuzla: Some firms in Tuzla have already paid out personal incomes, although they were supposed to wait until 15 October. Is that counter to the FEC?

Ante Markovic: I do not see that this way because one should always look at the reasons as to why some moves are made.

Market and Prices

Bajic from Banja Luka: What is the purpose of separating the cost of capital from the cost of goods when it is known that Yugoslav enterprises mainly have foreign means of production and when it is known that capital has its real price even at the moment when it is being employed? Why is our price of capital one of the highest in the world?

Ante Markovic: I have already answered the first question. As far the price of capital in our country is concerned, I cannot agree that it is one of the highest in the world. True, our nominal interest rates are high, but this is due to high inflation. Also, the real interest rates on loans used to be, and still are in some places, but this is because some banks charged higher interest rates to their clients in order to make up for the loans given with lower interest rates. These problems will be overcome with the new Law on Banking.

Rodoljub Tomovic from Kraljevo: I work in a shop and I wondered whether anything will be done against daily prices? What I am trying to say is that producers have a new price every day (I know this because I work in a shop).

Ante Markovic: You should ask the producers.

Ljiljana Ponjaric from Lazarevac: What criteria do shops use to increase their prices?

Ante Markovic: You should ask the shops.

Dusan from Loznica: What is the purpose of market inspectors when goods are used for speculation?

Ante Markovic: There will be no success if we only wait for inspectors. This does not mean that market inspectors are not necessary. On the contrary, they will soon be very busy. They will be making sure that our decisions on how prices should be set are implemented.

Slavenko Nesovic from Kraljevo: Why do we not use factory prices as they do in the West?

Ante Markovic: This could be a useful measure, especially from the point of view of avoiding the so-called leveling of prices in shops.

Boro Predgeric from Rijeka: When will you introduce foreign currency consumer loans?

Ante Markovic: I do not know what you mean exactly, but this will not happen.

Nihad Junuzi from Visoko: When will you introduce loans?

Ante Markovic: Loans have never been stopped, but one must pay the real rate of interest on them.

Stanko Peric from Trbovlje: Why would the state not accept foreign currency by selling consumer goods for foreign currency? It is a well-known fact that a great number of Yugoslavs have foreign currencies.

Ante Markovic: This would be against the regulations on foreign currency operations. By placing their foreign currencies in foreign currency savings accounts the citizens are increasing the foreign currency reserves of our country.

Kresimir Korazija, a farmer from Slovenia: Why are our citizens not allowed to legally spend foreign currency in our country rather than abroad, since in this way a large amount of foreign currency would stay in our country?

Ante Markovic: Objectively speaking, I do not think that under the present conditions there is a need to expand sales for foreign currency in our country. With our systemic changes and economic policy we are gradually creating conditions in which our citizens will be able to by all kinds of goods for dinars, including those goods that they often go to buy abroad.

Nikola Mijatovic from Osijek: How long will various bodies in our country continue to prevent the introduction of the private sector? Can this time be reduced to 5 years?

Ante Markovic: We have created all of the systemic prerequisites for the equal treatment of the private sector, as well as wide opportunities for its development. The procedure for opening new shops and setting up new private firms has been simplified considerably. Therefore, there are no grounds or justification for mentioning any obstacles.

Petar Predovic from Metlika: When will Markovic devote more time to craftsmen, because the law on the development of craftsmanship is obsolete?

Ante Markovic: As I have already said, in the new economic system the private sector is treated in the same way as the social sector, and this has created equal institutional prerequisites for its dynamic development. The republics and provinces should harmonize their legislature with this general orientation as soon as possible. The communes should use practical measures and moves to help the development of the small businesses sector incorporating personal, private, mixed, or social ownership.

Zdravko Bergant from Ljubljana: When will a private businessman be in the same position as a state enterprise?

Ante Markovic: I have answered this question with my previous two answers.

Zivko Bjekic from Belgrade: Regarding the distribution of earnings, in what way is the owner of a private shop different from a prewar capitalist?

Ante Markovic: There does not necessarily have to be any difference. It is up to his own personal preferences how much he spends today and how much he leaves (save) for tomorrow or invests in expanding his activities. It is in our society's interest to encourage (with tax concessions and other measures) savings and investments in small businesses of all forms of ownership. It is already doing this and will be doing this.

Petar Popov from Vojka: When will you abolish the import duty on semifinished goods for production?

Ante Markovic: This was done recently with the adoption of amendments to the Law on Taxing Goods and Services in Progress. Grubisa Barisa from Jesenice near Split: How does the FEC intend to encourage private craftsmen?

Ante Markovic: With the macroeconomic policy measures, above all the taxation policy measures and the measures concerning economic relations with other countries. We have already undertaken a number of measures which stimulate work and entrepreneurialship in the private sector and create wide opportunities for their development.

What Will Happen to Ownership?

Besim Krupalija from Vogosce: Can social ownership compete with private ownership?

Ante Markovic: The new Law on Labor Relations is introducing a specific form of the labor market. Without

this and without the competition of knowledge, ability, and entrepreneurialship, and without distinguishing between work and idleness, it would not be possible to develop an efficient economy which could successfully join in the world division of labor and find a way out of the crisis.

Social ownership can successfully compete with private ownership only if the efficiency and management of assets is raised to a considerably higher level. We have created and are still creating the necessary economic-systemic prerequisites for this. In the areas in which in the competition with social ownership private ownership shows that it is more efficient and superior, we should not cry for social ownership, because no society can build its future on what is not efficient and what is leading toward lagging behind other developed countries. This cannot be justified from any point of view, either economic or social.

Kovacevic from Posedarje near Zadar: We know that the reform has made it easier for foreigners to invest their capital. In addition, are the foreigners guaranteed ownership of the houses, villas, or other facilities that are used for business purposes?

Ante Markovic: Yes. In this respect foreigners are guaranteed the same rights enjoyed by our physical and legal persons.

Selim Hodzic from Velika Kladusa: Comrade President, what do you think about the Agrokomerc case, and what is the fate of this combine?

Ante Markovic: At present, certain actions are being taken and negotiations are being held to resolve the Agrokomerc problem in a satisfactory way.

Cadres in the Apparatus

A viewer from Makedonski Brod: Do you have any doubts about the validity of the data that you are provided by your associates?

Ante Markovic: No, I make many calculations myself.

Batric Djukovic: Are you thinking about a cadre competition in the FEC, and how would you do it?

Ante Markovic: Of course we are, because this is the way to find the best people. If I may recall, when I answered a similar question by Radic Novakovic from Milanovac during the program, I said: We are embarking on a serious reform of the FEC apparatus and this was facilitated by a new law adopted recently. We are preparing suitable studies and programs on how to modernize and improve the quality of our cadres.

A viewer from Sarajevo: What is the purpose of providing money for those employed in the FEC to go into business and not giving money to the unemployed young and educated people?

Ante Markovic: In order to modernize the FEC it is necessary to reduce the number of people on the one hand, and to find new top experts on the other hand. I have already said during the television program that one way (on the basis of a law) of doing this is to give money to those who want to vacate their jobs for new top experts to either pay for so-called retirement contributions, or to invest it in a private business.

Relieving the Economy

Sead Alagic from Sanski Most: How will the taxes imposed on the economy be reduced? Everybody is talking about it, but nothing has been done.

[No answer by Markovic]

Slobodan Vidovic: Is it possible to further reduce communal, republican, and federal taxes, and contributions, duties, and so forth since it is obvious that the economy is overburdened, and invest this money in some developing projects?

Ante Markovic: We have already started to relieve the economy of this burden at the federal level. For instance, we have considerably relieved the economy with the radical real reduction in the federal budget. Now it is the turn of the republics and communes to follow our example and relieve the economy from additional taxes. I am sure that the rationalization by the institutions in social activities can also contribute toward relieving the economy of the burden of taxes and improving its material position.

Vesna Setalo from Becej: Would a reduction in the federal budget contribute toward reducing inflation?

Ante Markovic: I have already mentioned that through a real cut in the federal budget's expenditure and the increase in the efficiency of using the funds from the budget we contributed to stabilization.

Rewarding According to Results

Cacic from Zagreb: When will we start valuing work instead of idleness?

Ante Markovic: When we implement the new system and market laws.

Liberalization of Imports

Marko Savkovic from Pucarevo: Will the customs duty be scrapped on articles that are several times more expensive in our country than abroad?

Ante Markovic: I have already said something about that. I said that, as part of the measures designed to eliminate monopolies on the domestic market, we intend to reduce and in some cases completely abolish import tax. This was envisaged by the amendments to the Law on Customs which is already in the SFRY Assembly. At the same time I would like to say that, in addition to the already introduced liberalization of imports, the FEC

recently reduced import duties and taxes on some consumer goods in order to calm down the increase in the prices of these goods on the domestic market.

Why Is Jeftic Not Accepting the Government's Measures?

Ante Kovac from Posusje: How does the president explain the statement by Desimir Jeftic that he personally does not accept the measures of the FEC?

Ante Markovic: It is his right to express his critical opinions. It would be good if such critical observations were accompanied by alternative proposals.

How To Settle Debts

Milorad Dimitrijevic from Kragujevac: Is the federal government thinking about purchasing foreign debt, since this is one way of overcoming the crisis?

Ante Markovic: We have already done a lot in this respect. We purchased $830 million of our foreign debt from commercial banks in the secondary market and reduced our debt by this amount. We spent only $460 million to purchase this debt through various forms. The positive effects of these transactions (in terms of savings on repaying interest and discounts) exceed $1 billion.

Pero Hrkac from Zagreb: Why does the federal government intend to delay the liberalization of imports?

Ante Markovic: We are not delaying the liberalization. This FEC boldly embarked on the liberalization of imports, which we never had, right from the beginning of its mandate. As I have already said, as a result of this policy, 87 percent of our total imports have been liberalized.

Chances for Government Measures Viewed

AU1110205189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7-8 Oct 89 p 10

[Commentary by Milan Rakas, director of BORBA: "Minefields for Markovic's Program"]

[Text] In recent talks with 200 of the most prominent Yugoslav businessmen at the Zagreb fair, Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, said in reply to a question about the possible resignation of the Federal Executive Council that he had not even thought about the Federal Executive Council resigning, but he also stressed that the fate of the Federal Executive Council that he leads is linked with the latest program of economic stabilization measures that he proposed to the SFRY Assembly. This categorical statement by Ante Markovic, which must be believed (the president of the Federal Executive Council deserves this, because of his consistency), engenders new confidence in the resolution of the Federal Executive Council under his leadership to persist in the battle to bring about economic stabilization and more effectively reduce rampant inflation. However, the content of the aforementioned statement by Markovic also points to the full seriousness of the situation in which Yugoslavia could find itself if the program of proposed measures of the Federal Executive Council is not adopted in the SFRY Assembly. With the possible failure of the program, the Federal Executive Council also fails, since it has rightly linked its fate with the program that it is proposing to the Assembly and in which, as its collective executive organ, it sees as the way out of the Yugoslav crisis which we got ourselves into as early as 10 years ago. The danger of the outcome of a possible failure of the program of the Federal Executive Council is all the greater because not one of the present critics, even the most vociferous, of the program measures of the Federal Executive Council has put forward a consistent program for a way out of the crisis.

Unfortunately, it should be openly said that, at the time of going to press for this edition of our newspaper, there have been increasingly obvious minefields for the program of the Federal Executive Council that Ante Markovic leads. These minefields can be seen in the act of removing four important laws (on foreign exchange, customs, the law on bases for the taxation system, and the social control of prices) from the agenda of the session of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces which was held on Thursday, because agreement had not been reached between the federal units. When it is known that without these four laws it is impossible to imagine the total efficacy of the latest measures of the Federal Executive Council, then it must be quite clearly said that delay in adopting them because of quarrels and exclusivity in the interests of certain federal units means that the whole program of economic stabilization measures which Ante Markovic recently explained in his report to the Assembly, to the applause of Assembly delegates, is undermined. This serious qualification will be justified even if, after long hesitation or negotiation, some compromise is reached in the adoption of the postponed laws in the packet of Federal Executive Council measures, after the publication of this article. That is to say, it is well-known that critics of Markovic and the Federal Executive Council stress daily, among other things, that the measures of the Federal Executive Council for economic stabilization are being delayed and at the same time, through their "raised hands" in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces they are most directly contributing to a delay in the adoption of the proposed measures.

As an illustration, regarding the minefields that are contained in the postponement of the aforementioned laws, it is necessary to stress in particular that a reduction in chaotic inflation is unimaginable if the law on the social control of prices does not urgently stop the electricity industry, the oil industry, the post office and telecommunications enterprises, and rail transport—that is to say, the monopolists—from setting prices according to the value of the dollar, which cannot be applied in any other branch of the economy in our country. What is meant by the monopolistic setting of prices has recently been shown by the fact that all

branches of the economy will have to build into the prices of their products and services new increases in the price of electricity, oil products, and post office and railroad services, as well as the already announced rate of inflation of 52 percent for the current month. The other three laws that we have mentioned are also such that, without them, it is impossible to imagine the efficient functioning of a unified Yugoslav market, a quicker prevention of an increase in inflation, and the functioning of a unified taxation system as an integral part of the developmental policy and an efficient welfare policy in favor of development.

In the context of everything that has been happening recently in the struggle of the Federal Executive Council to get the proposed program adopted in the SFRY Assembly, what is becoming particularly topical are the demands from certain delegates in the SFRY Assembly that changes should be speeded up to the provisions in the SFRY Constitution which facilitate interminable bargaining between the representatives of the federal units on the basis of regional and particularist interests and instructions from the political bureaucrats of the republics and provinces. Specifically, one should urgently fulfill the proposal by Mijat Sukovic, delegate in the Federal Chamber, that by using the signature of a certain number of delegates, a change to the constitutional provisions that prevent the efficient implementation of the economic reform should be initiated without waiting for a new constitution to be adopted. It is obvious that all political forces which care about the unity and progress of this country must immediately support the initiative contained in Sukovic's proposal and change as quickly as possible all constitutional provisions that are based on the affirmation of national economies and insistence on consensus, even in making decisions about the everyday moves of the present economic policy. Constitutional changes must ensure that consensus in decisionmaking be retained only when it is a question of the major issues of the medium-term and long-term economic development of the country and its parts which are an integral part of the realization of the equality of peoples and nationalities. It is not necessary to be a great expert to conclude that the four aforementioned laws in Markovic's program, which were taken off the agenda of the session of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces on Thursday, belong to those measures that cannot undermine the planned medium-term and long-term economic development of certain parts of the country because, in terms of their characteristics, these laws are only operative measures of the current economic policy for which it is important that their total implementation does not destroy the equality of peoples and nationalities in the planned economic development of Yugoslavia and all its parts.

FEC Issues Statement on Budget Rebalancing

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[Text] Belgrade, 12 Oct (TANJUG)—The federal budget for this year, according to the draft rebalance which was established at today's session of the Federal Executive Council (presided over by Aleksandar Mitrovic), amounts to 122.5 trillion dinars. This is 61 trillion dinars more than the approved budget. In relation to the budget and nonbudget expenses met for last year, the increase amounts to 668.4 percent, and in comparison with the earlier rebalanced budget for this year it amounts to 79.6 percent.

The real needs, or rather claims of the beneficiaries arising out of current laws, have amounted to more than 150 trillion dinars. Such a volume of government expenditure is unacceptable, however, above all because of limited revenue. In order to meet all the demands, it would be necessary to place additional burdens on the economy and the population, which, according to the FEC, is unacceptable in the present situation.

Additional funds for the federal budget are essential, the FEC Secretariat for Information states, because in the meantime prices, personal incomes, and the exchange rate of the dollar have increased. Without additional funds there would be a complete paralysis of the basic functions and tasks of the federation up to the end of the year. These are primarily the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army, social, and other services in the economically underdeveloped republics and Kosovo, and disability and veterans' allowances. The greater part of the budget of the federation will be spent, as it has been up until now, on these items.

The FEC has proposed that the expenditure of the rebalanced budget should be covered by revenue from basic turnover tax, from customs and other import duties and taxes, and contributions from the republics and provinces. It was proposed that the contributions of the republics and provinces should not be increased, that is they continue to make up 16.1 percent of the total budget. The budget would be partly financed by federal bonds amounting to 12.5 trillion dinars.

In addition to the draft changes and amendments to the federal budget for this year, the FEC also agreed the drafts of several accompanying laws and adopted several regulations and decisions.

The FEC adopted a report on the Ninth Summit of Heads of State and Government of the Nonaligned Countries, a report on preparations for and the holding of the summit, and a report on the work of the operational headquarters for the preparation of that meeting.